HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Case, Percy and Morton Faulted

Republican Doves Sully Party's Image

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

The sharp move of prominent party spokesmen to the left has compromised the image of the Republican party as an alternative to President Johnson. Their confusion and ignorance make President Johnson look like a man of principle.

Gov. Romney of Michigan says he was brainwashed by the official briefers in Saigon. It is a naive confession to make, but it is also a claim of new awareness. Is the governor better informed today? No, indeed. His new position is a retrogression into deeper error.

Sen. Case of New Jersey has accused President Johnson of "reckless tampering with . . . the trust of one man for another" by his use of the Tonkin Gulf Resolution of 1964 to escalate the Viet Nam war. He feels that the Senate purpose has been betrayed.

But President Johnson has not escalated the war. Ho Chi Minh has done it. Since 1961 Ho Chi Minh has increased his forces in South Viet Nam from 30,000 to approximately 275,000. President Johnson has done only what was necessary to avoid defeat.

Moreover, the President has stated that his course has not depended upon the Tonkin Gulf Resolution. He has done what was required to protect U.S. interests, and he would have done it with or without the resolution. Sen. Case seems to be poorly informed.

Sen. Percy of Illinois says the bombing in North Viet Nam is too close to the China border (10 miles). He would pull back.

Why? Communist China is a nonbelligerent. All of North Viet Nam is subject to attack. Does the senator believe that an accidental bomb drop in China would provoke war? It is a naive view. Accidental bombing has never been a cause of war. But fear of a potential aggressor may encourage him to attack.

Sen. Morton has called for the immediate cessation of bombing North Viet Nam, a withdrawal to coastal enclaves, a reduction of U.S. forces in Viet Nam and new initiatives for negotiation. The senator has been talking with Gen. Gavin. Sen. Morton claims that President Johnson has been brainwashed by the military industrial complex; but it seems more evident that Sen. Morton has been brainwashed by Gen. Gavin.

Gavin is a Kennedy man. His plan is the Kennedy-Fulbright plan. How could a Republican senator be deceived by such propaganda? Are the people of Kentucky so naive?

The French used the enclave plan and failed. If the President followed the Morton plan, there would be no negotiation. Ho Chi Minh would drive us out of the country, as he did the French. The senator seems to think there is a stopping point on the Kennedy road to abject surrender. There isn't.

Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.) has criticized the "doves" in the GOP (see story on page 3).

Breaking with the established leadership of the Republican party, Sen. Thruston Morton (R.-Ky.), who is up for re-election next year, now calls for a halt to the bombing of North Viet Nam and a retreat into "enclaves."

Our allies join this frustration of ignorance. In the United Nations they call upon us to stop the bombing. There was no call for Ho Chi Minh to stop his aggression. How pitiful the champions of freedom have become!

Ho says there can be no negotiation until the bombing of North Viet Nam is stopped. The proper reply to that piece of bombast is that the bombing will be intensified until Ho ceases his aggression against South Viet Nam. Surely the Johnson response that the bombing will be moderated when Ho agrees to a mutual reduction of offensive warfare is restrained and conciliatory.

There can be no question about the source of aggression in this war. Everyone knows that the bombing of North Viet Nam will stop as soon as North Viet Nam ceases its aggression against South Viet Nam. Ho Chi Minh has full control of the war initiative and he has chosen to press his aggression. In these circumstances, how can rational men propose that the victim of aggression should take the initiative to reduce its response to aggression?

Some political leaders are saying that a military solution of this war is impossible. They are precisely wrong. Only a military solution is possible because Ho Chi Minh will consider no other.

The only question is, who will win? If President Johnson cannot summon the resolution to win, the country must find someone who will. These doves raise a doubt that the Republican party can supply the man.

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HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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● Insiders are saying that one reason Sen. **Thruston Morton** (R.-Ky.) is staking out a "dove" position on Viet Nam is that he would like to hold down the second spot on a GOP ticket headed by Sen. Charles Percy (R.-Ill.). Morton's staff apparently believes "Chuck" is the wave of the future, with Morton's chief assistant, Duff Reed, admitting he consults Percy frequently and thinks he would be the best man the Republicans could nominate.

● The Copley News Service's Washington Bureau Chief Raymond McHugh says he learned from top European officials that **John F. Kennedy** told Khrushchev in 1961 that he would ease the Cold War by dismantling U.S.-subsidized anti-Communist propaganda and refugee organizations in Western Europe. As a result, many have drastically cut back operations, with a 100,000-member Polish exile organization having disappeared entirely. Khrushchev supposedly agreed to kill off some Communist groups in exchange, but they were only kept dormant for a few years and are now back in operation.

● Commenting on criticism arising from the liberals concerning the **Greek coup,** McHugh states that the Army takeover was enormously popular in Greece and was even greeted with "relief" by the unemployed members of Parliament who feared a Red takeover in the midst of chaotic conditions. Though the Army is still in control of the government, Greece is gradually turning back to some form of democracy, with 14 of the top 19 government positions in the hands of civilians.

● Conservative politicos have once again begun to criticize the public opinion pollsters, this time for running poll after poll testing a **Rockefeller-Reagan ticket** against a Johnson-Humphrey ticket. Critics contend this gives more and more favorable publicity to Rocky and creates the impression in the public mind that a GOP ticket headed by the New York governor is the only one that could whip the LBJ-HHH team. Maybe so. But why, conservatives would like to know, don't the pollsters test other combinations of Republicans against the Democrats, like Nixon-Reagan, Reagan-Nixon, or, even, Reagan-Rockefeller?

● Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith, Inc., the largest brokerage firm in the world, has sent out a letter to its customers criticizing LBJ's 10 per cent surtax. "What you may not realize," claims the letter, "is that the surtax would apply to long-term capital gains as well as to ordinary income. The effect of the 10 per cent surtax would be to **increase the long-term capital gains tax**—now a maximum of 25 per cent—for the first time in its 45-year history to a maximum of 27.5 per cent, higher than it has ever been before."

● Rhodesia's Prime Minister **Ian Smith** is reportedly burning because the State Department says it won't let him into this country unless he has a British passport but, meanwhile, has waived such passport requirements for six black Rhodesian students who have left for the United States on scholarships. Even Bobby Kennedy has protested the State Department's action.

● Here's where our **anti-Rhodesia policy** has taken us: Because we are carrying out sanctions against Rhodesia, we now buy our chromium from Soviet Russia. Rhodesia, in turn, is now turning to Red China to sell chromium previously sold to the United States.

● The State Department announced last week that it had revoked the passports of 27 Americans who had traveled to North Viet Nam. Twenty-four hours later, the department conceded that six of the group have been **issued new passports** after promising not to visit Hanoi again. Among the six are Communist theoretician Herbert Aptheker; Liberation magazine's David Dellinger, organizer of the October 21 anti-war demonstration at the Pentagon; and Lena Greene, American-born wife of the pro-Communist British journalist, Felix Greene.

● The stranglehold that the leftist-dominated International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union has over Hawaii politics was revealed again last week when Sen. Hiram Fong (R.-Hawaii) gave a remarkable eulogy to **Jeff Kibre,** who had been an ILWU representative in Washington, D.C., until his death on September 27. Fong put his pinch of incense on the ILWU altar by praising Kibre as an "eloquent champion" of the working man and as a man who "had great vision . . . and the courage of his convictions." In actuality, Kibre is known to have been a card-carrying Communist who took the Fifth when asked about his Red affiliations before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee. He worked for the ILWU—kicked out of the CIO for following the Communist line—the last 15 years of his life.

● Pennsylvania Gov. **Raymond Shafer,** a leading GOP moderate, is telling friends that George Romney has "no chance" for the GOP presidential nomination. Shafer feels that Romney killed his chances with his foot-in-mouth observations on Viet Nam.

● Gov. **Paul Johnson** of Mississippi says LBJ "would have as much chance of carrying my state as an asbestos dog would have catching a celluloid dog in Hell."

● A recent issue of **Graphic Arts Unionist,** publication of the illustrative printing trade, contained two articles on the current United Rubber Workers strike against five major producers which say volumes about the **hypocrisy and double standards of Big Labor.** The first attacked the practice of non-struck companies giving financial assistance to struck companies to compensate for strike losses, calling this "a strikebreaking device which ought to be outlawed." One column away from this story was another, this one praising non-striking unions for giving financial assistance to URW strikers at the rubber plants, calling this "a strong display of labor solidarity."

● Michael A. Faia, a sociologist at California State College, has closely scrutinized faculty members at California colleges and universities for patterns of **"deviant behavior,"** a term normally associated with the activities of dope takers and sexual perverts. Faia, however, took a polling sample of state faculty members' political affiliations and then examined the "deviant behavorial" attitude of those who classified themselves Republican and/or voted for Barry Goldwater in 1964. Upon finishing his examination, Faia breathed a sigh of relief when he concluded that, while this minority of professors was certainly "deviant," their voting for Barry was not evidence of mental disease, but only a "safety valve for expressing hostility" to the university system.

● Legislation enacted by Congress forbids anti-poverty officials from engaging in partisan political activities. "But while the letter of the law may be observed," reports the Baltimore Sun's Stephen J. Lyton, "its spirit is given somewhat less cordial treatment. Political overtones persist at every level of the [Baltimore] anti-poverty program. And anti-poverty administrators argue that a proper function of the **'War on Poverty'** is to encourage the poor to participate in political endeavors."

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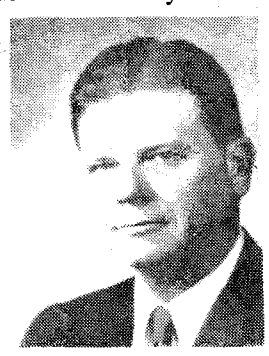
Morton's Goof

When Sen. Thruston Morton (R.-Ky.) made his headline-grabbing remarks about the "military-industrial complex" having "brainwashed" LBJ on Viet Nam, he was probably unaware that he was being used by the father-in-law of Marxist Staughton Lynd. Lynd's father-in-law, Henry E. Niles, head of the Baltimore Life Insurance Co., happens to be co-chairman of the Business Executive Move for Viet Nam Peace, the group which invited Morton to speak.



MORTON

Niles was more than pleased with the Kentucky senator's "peacenik" theme which called for unilateral cessation of "all bombing" of North Viet Nam; an end to search and destroy missions and increased pressure upon the Saigon government to negotiate with Hanoi and its puppet, the National Liberation Front. There was only the faintest suggestion by Morton that if all this fails to bring peace, he may reevaluate his position on Viet Nam again.

Niles readily admitted to Human Events **he was Lynd's father-in-law, stressing, furthermore, that "I'm proud to say so."**

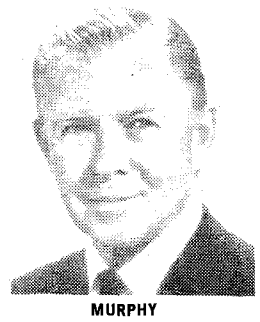
The son-in-law Niles is proud to be a father-in-law to has: rooted for a Viet Cong victory; has called on young Americans to journey to North Viet Nam to help rebuild non-military structures destroyed by U.S. bombing; traveled, in violation of U.S. passport regulations, to Hanoi with avowed Communist Herbert Aptheker; teamed up with Jacob Rosen, a leader of the pro-Peking Progressive Labor party, to put out a PL newspaper called *Freedom;* written in *Liberation* magazine that Bayard Rustin, a radical in his own right, was a "labor lieutenant of capitalism" because Rustin refused to countenance a demonstration in which leadership was held by Communist-controlled organizations like the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs; contributed to pro-Communist publications like the *National Guardian* and has been listed as a member of the faculty for the Free University of New York which, according to ex-radical Phillip Abbott Luce, was "set up and originally financed by the Progressive Labor party and its 'fellow travelers.' "

Lynd recently (Sept. 10, 1967) wrote an article for the New York *Times Magazine* defending the revolutionary Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee and claimed that advocacy of violence by SNCC's fieriest spokesmen, such as H. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael, "is also in the American grain."

By lending his prestige to the Niles group, say some, Morton portrayed himself as more of a "peacenik" politico than he probably cared to.

Dirksen Rebuffs Doves

While Republican doves caught most of the headlines last week, other Republicans, including Senators George Murphy (Calif.), Thomas Kuchel (Calif.), Strom Thurmond (S.C.) and Everett Dirksen (Ill.), revealed that major sentiment in the GOP is still against turning tail and running in South Viet Nam.



MURPHY

Sen. Murphy, for example, not only supported America's presence in Viet Nam but called for a stepped-up military effort to bring the war to a close. Dirksen launched a scathing indictment of those counseling retreat and preaching defeatism.

The Illinois solon tore into the statement of a dovish senator that "our programs and our policies" are "suspect by friend and foe" because of our taking a stand in Viet Nam. "Who besides bonnie Charles de Gaulle has been so bold as to affront us in this field?" asked Dirksen. Thirty countries are helping us now, he stressed, with such nations as Korea and Australia pouring in troops to prevent a Red takeover. Should South Viet Nam fall to the Communists, the GOP minority leader thundered, all of Southeast Asia would be in jeopardy.

To end search-and-destroy missions and retreat into coastal enclaves, as Morton has advocated, said Dirksen, would be to put us in a defensive position that would prevent victory. And he passed off as a waste of time and energy the suggestion that the Viet Nam war should be brought before the Security Council where the Soviet Union has veto power.

Dirksen, however, was not content just to support Johnson's efforts in the war. In remarks that seemed to apply to both the Administration and the Senate doves for failure to put more faith in the military, the Illinois senator noted that "wars have been lost because of too much civil interference." "I think it was General Grant," he remarked, "who said that the greatest aid for him was from none other than Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederacy, because he was interfering with Robert E. Lee and his tactics and his strategy."

THIS WEEK'S NEWS

from

INSIDE WASHINGTON

Aiming a thrust at the State Department, Dirksen said he "fairly shuddered" when he learned that two members of the left-wing Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Harry Ashmore and Bill Baggs, had gone to Hanoi with the State Department's blessing. Judging from its literature, said Dirksen, the Center is for liquidating freedom, not promoting it. And that, he said, is one of the major reasons we are in Viet Nam: to promote freedom.

He then recited an old ditty for his colleagues: "No man escapes when freedom fails/The best men rot in filthy jails./And those who cry 'appease, appease'/Are hanged by those they sought to please." Dirksen, in short, was saying that he had no intention of letting the Morton-Percy-Case axis speak for the Grand Old Party.

LBJ Ignored Bombing Strategy

While Democratic and Republican doves carry on their campaign to end the bombing of North Viet Nam, American military experts contend that the U.S. would have suffered less casualties and would be closer to victory if the Administration had permitted a more devastating bombing policy.

Gen. John P. McConnell, the Air Force chief of staff, has told the Senate Preparedness subcommittee that the Administration's "gradualist" approach in applying air power against North Viet Nam has been less effective than would have been a Joint Chiefs of Staff plan for dealing the enemy a "sharp, sudden blow."

In testimony recently released, McConnell said that when the American bombing of North Viet Nam was first authorized in 1965 the Joint Chiefs of Staff recommended that the United States "go in there with a very severe application of air power" and presented a plan to destroy 94 targets in 16 days.

This military concept of a quick, sharp and devastating blow, said McConnell, was dismissed for a more restrictive policy based on the idea of slowly applying pressures.

As a result of the gradualist philosophy, McConnell stated, North Viet Nam was able to greatly multiply its air defense capability. "I believe," Gen. McConnell stressed, "that if we had gone in 1965 and really pounded them when they didn't have any defenses, that we would have been better off today."

Sen. Margaret Chase Smith (R.-Me.) asked whether we would have suffered fewer casualties in the south if the "air campaign against the north had not been burdened with restrictions and prohibited targets." McConnell replied: "In my opinion, that is correct."

Adm. Thomas H. Moorer, the newly installed chief of naval operations, gave the subcommittee similar views. He said he believed we would be in "a better situation" militarily if the original bombing plan of the Joint Chiefs had been approved in 1965.

Demos Scuttle Anti-Red Trade Bill

Persisting in its drive to "build bridges" to Communist countries, the Johnson Administration and its agents in Congress have scissored from the foreign aid bill before a Senate-House conference the Findley amendment to deny "most favored nation" treatment to Communist Poland. (The conference is ironing out differences in Senate and House-passed versions of the foreign aid bill.)

FINDLEY

Adopted overwhelmingly in the House, the Findley measure would have blocked Poland from getting special tariff concessions until it stopped supplying arms, ammunition and other "implements of war" to North Viet Nam. Ironically, as the Senate-House panel was striking the Findley proviso, three Polish ships—the *Konopicka,* the *Benowski* and the *F. Ceyowa*—were docking in Haiphong harbor, unloading goods to increase Hanoi's war-making capabilities.

Leading the move to kill the Findley measure were Senators Albert Gore (D.-Tenn.), J. W. Fulbright (D.-Ark.) and Frank Church (D.-Idaho), the latter two up for re-election next year.

What puzzles Rep. Paul Findley (R.-Ill.), who sponsored the amendment, is why on earth the Administration would want to lavish favors on Communist Poland when it has been one of the most subservient of Soviet satellites and has been one of the chief suppliers of Hanoi.

In supporting his amendment, Findley pointed out that "Poland is the only nation now enjoying economic advantages of 'most favored nation' treatment under U.S. tariff laws which is admittedly supplying weapons to our enemy. . . .

"For example, on June 25 the Associated Press in Warsaw quoted Zenon Kliszko, Poland's No. 2 Communist, as pledging full assistance 'until complete victory' and telling Hanoi: 'We are glad that Polish guns are bringing concrete results to you in your fight. We are giving and we will continue to give material, political and military aid.'

"Kliszko credited a Hanoi anti-aircraft unit armed with 'equipment furnished by Polish workers, technicians and engineers' with shooting down or damaging 40 American planes. Shipment of Polish arms to North Viet Nam has also been confirmed by the Polish defense minister."

While the State Department and others argue that the taking away of trade credits and concessions from Poland may undermine our presence in that country, Findley counters that what comes first are American soldiers in Viet Nam. He states further:

"To permit any country benefitting from U.S. foreign aid programs to give military assistance to our enemy and have us do nothing about it, I believe, is to create serious diplomatic complications. If one nation can do this without fear of our punitive action, others may follow precedent. . . .

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"Our diplomatic moves have failed to sway Poland from its present course. Perhaps when the Gomulka regime realizes what it has forefeited by its Viet Nam involvement, it may learn to value cooperation with the U.S. and redirect her precarious foreign policy."

The Findley amendment is not yet dead, despite the action taken by the conferees. The Illinois lawmaker, supported strongly by Rep. Ed Derwinski (R.-Ill.), a foreign affairs expert of Polish extraction, plans to reintroduce his bill when it comes to the House floor from the conference.

• Administration forces, it is learned, have not only scuttled the Findley measure, but are intent on throwing out other restrictions in the bill which would persuade our allies as well as our enemies to reduce trade transactions with North Viet Nam.

• The following are the names of the members of the Senate-House panel considering the foreign aid bill. Why not urge them to keep all restrictions against Red trade in the bill? Ask them, also, how they voted on the Findley amendment. Senators on the panel include:

Fulbright (Ark.), Sparkman (Ala.), Mansfield (Mont.), Morse (Ore.), Gore (Tenn.), Lausche (Ohio), Church (Idaho), Hickenlooper (Iowa), Aiken (Vt.), Carlson (Kans.), and Williams (Del.); House members are: Morgan (Pa.), Zablocki (Wis.), Hays (Ohio), Kelly (N.Y.), Adair (Ind.), Mailliard (Calif.) and Frelinghuysen (N.J.).

Post Office Politics

Freshman Rep. John T. Myers (R.-Ind.) has been taught a lesson in "Post Office politics." On September 13 the Indiana lawmaker began receiving phone calls and letters from people in Roachdale, Ind., complaining about a Post Office Department decision to interrupt the Roachdale Post Office rural route service. Subsequently, Myers requested the Post Office Department to cancel its decision.

On September 21 Myers received a two-page letter signed by Deputy Assistant Postmaster General Howard R. Barker which explained that $4,343 in annual savings would result if the Roachdale service was consolidated with service from Bainbridge and Russelville. Myers then told the people of Roachdale that he was sorry but he could not retain their normal mail service.

On September 28, however, Myers read in the *Daily Banner* that the senior senator from Indiana, Vance Hartke, "who just happens to be a Democrat" and is a member of the Senate Post Office Committee, "had the pleasure of notifying the people of Roachdale he had been successful in retaining their mail service. A call to the Post Office Department . . . confirmed that the . . . report was accurate." Thus did Myers learn how the Post Office, headed by LBJ political strategist Larry O'Brien, engages in the game of politics.

Sorensen as Idealist

A major reason, it is becoming clear, why John F. Kennedy was so bamboozled in the field of foreign policy is that one of his chief advisers was Theodore Sorensen, a supposed liberal whose ideology conveniently never conflicts with his urge to make a profit.

SORENSEN

Sorensen helped steer JFK against ex-Congolese Premier Moise Tshombe, a friend of the West, and towards detente with the Soviets, a friend of North Viet Nam. And strangely enough, both policies appear to be paying off—not for the United States, but for Sorensen. JFK's ex aide, in fact, is now on the payroll of the current Congolese government which forced Tshombe into exile, sentenced him to death in absentia after a farcical trial which lasted all of 30 minutes, and engineered his recent kidnapping. (So far, there has been no evidence that the "liberal" Sorensen has been willing to intervene on behalf of Tshombe and risk a possible cut off in salary from the dictatorial Congo government.)

Back from a recent trip to Moscow, Sorensen is now trumpeting the exalted virtues of expanded East-West trade and mouthing Soviet propaganda in the process.

Speaking before the National Businessman's Council in New York last week, Sorensen neatly put the Soviets in the role of champions of peace and suggested that they were desperately trying to do us a favor in trading with the United States. Soviet Foreign Trade Minister Nikolai S. Patolichev "convinced me," said Sorensen, "that the Soviets today desire—despite Viet Nam—to buy American goods as well as to sell their goods to us. . . .

"This desire springs not from any pressing economic need, for they can obtain all the goods and markets they really need elsewhere, but from their belief that trade can help keep doors open, can help 'normalize relations,' as the minister told me."

In short, incredible as it sounds, the Soviets sold Sorensen on the idea they were trying to promote world peace through trade with the U.S.—and they weren't going to let our stubborness on Viet Nam stand in the way!

Sorensen also scoffed at the notion that transactions with the Soviet Union constituted "trading with the enemy," though some observers are unkind enough to point out that a man who was a conscientious objector during the Korean War may not be constituted to recognize the enemy when he sees him. And, anyway, trading with one's foes can help fatten your wallet.

Not stressed in Sorensen's soaring rhetoric about the vital necessity of expanding trade with Hanoi's chief suppliers of weapons in order to bring about a climate of international goodwill is the fact that such a move will richly benefit Sorensen himself. For Sorensen has suddenly begun loudly blowing the bugle for beefed-up trade with the Soviets at the exact time, coincidentally, of course, that he has been trying to satisfy his law firm's clients who have engaged Sorensen's firm to explore trade opportunities with the Soviet Union.

There has been a lot of talk about "patriots" who peddle a certain line in order to make money. Could it be, some politicos wonder, there are also peaceniks for profit?

Medicaid's Soaring Costs

A once little-noticed section of the federal Social Security Act now threatens local governments throughout the country with bankruptcy.

Title 19 of the act, enacted into law two years ago, authorizes state governments to set up "Medicaid" programs in which federal, state and county funds are used to pay the medical bills of "indigent" families.

In New York families earning as much as $6,000 a year are eligible for Medicaid, with a resulting drain on local treasuries. In fact, officials of 35 New York counties reported recently that enormous Medicaid bills had forced them to cut back on such essential government services as public safety.

"Our road program was cut in half, our police department has been curtailed, and there is no end in sight," said Peter Corning, an Auburn city councilman. "I had to cut the sheriff's office, strip the Highways' Department, halt work in the parks and stop all salary raises, all to pay Medicaid bills," added Onondago County Executive John Mulroy.

Mayor Richard Mitchell of Poughkeepsie told of a "young man in our town who was bragging to a friend that the state of New York had bought him a new car. He had saved, with his wife, enough money to pay for his son's orthodontia. But they qualified for Medicaid, so the money was spent on a new car."

California Gov. Ronald Reagan is blunt: "The various Medicaid programs are in fact sicker than the people they are expected to aid."

Dr. Roger O. Egeberg, dean of the University of Southern California's School of Medicine, put his finger on the spiraling cost of Medicaid when he said there are many doctors who, through "avarice or ignorance," recommend their favorite operations or treatments unnecessarily when the patients receive government medical aid.

Demos Block Spending Cuts

The House Ways and Means Committee last week, by a 20-to-5 vote, deferred any further action on President Johnson's proposed 10 per cent surtax bill until the President and Congress reach an understanding on a means of "implementing more effective expenditure reduction and controls." The five members who were presumably willing to act on LBJ's tax hike bill before any assurance of a cut in federal spending were Representatives Boggs (La.), King (Calif.), Karsten (Mo.), Vanik (Ohio) and Gilbert (N.Y.), all Democrats.

This decision was made after the Democrats had successfully hampered several Republican efforts to force the President to slash spending in the fiscal year ending next June 30 by at least $5 billion in whatever programs he selected. Just prior to committee action, in fact, the Democratically controlled House, by a 213-to-205 rollcall vote (see page 15), defeated another GOP attempt to direct President Johnson to reduce spending by $5 billion. Every Republican on the House floor supported the economy move.

Senate Passes Poverty Bill

Continuing its profligate ways, the Senate last week passed an anti-poverty bill authorizing the Johnson Administration to spend $4.6 billion over the next two years, with the first-year authorization of $2.2 billion exceeding President Johnson's own budget request by $198 million. The bill now faces a more severe test in the House.

While the Senate hardly revealed any excessive care for the taxpayer, a number of solons, including Robert Byrd (W. Va.), John Williams (Del.) and Carl Curtis (Neb.), led the fight for economy, with Byrd succeeding in getting the Senate to strike down a $2.8-billion emergency job training amendment tacked onto the anti-poverty package by Sen. Joseph Clark (D.-Pa.).

Patriotism Committee

The National Committee for Responsible Patriotism, which is planning nationwide demonstrations in support of American soldiers in Viet Nam the weekend of October 21-22, is urging various cities—whether or not they have a parade—to participate in other programs of the committee as well. The committee hopes that flags and other appropriate symbols will be displayed throughout the country on October 21 and 22; it also urged that every moving vehicle in the United States have its headlights turned on during those days, and strongly suggests that every home, apartment, public building, office plant, etc., keep a light burning, visible to the outside, on the night of October 21.

The committee further urges that every city organize a reception committee to greet at least one returning Viet Nam soldier as a "symbolic gesture of gratitude to all of the men and women serving our nation so gallantly. All major organizations should be represented at the homecoming ceremony, along with public figures."

For those who wish to contact the committee, its address is Commodore Hotel, 109 East 42nd St., New York, N.Y., 10017. The telephone number is 684-0640, Area Code 212.

Lindsay Eyes Percy

New York Mayor John V. Lindsay said last week that he favors a "dove" for the GOP presidential nominee and indicated that he thinks Sen. Charles Percy would be the Republican's best choice. Lindsay, however, is reported willing to accept any prominent GOP candidate named so far—except Ronald Reagan.

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POLITICS '68

ROCKEFELLER

Columnist Willard Edwards says he has it from a "shrewd, hard-headed politician" who knows about the operations of **Nelson Rockefeller**'s inner councils that the New York governor has not abandoned his ambition to be President of the United States.

ROCKEFELLER

This informant, says Edwards, relates that a primary reason Rocky wants to run is to "wipe the slate clean of the stigma which he feels has been borne by his second wife, Margaretta (Happy) Murphy Rockefeller."

When Rocky married her in May 1963, five weeks after she had divorced the father of her four small children and a year after he had been divorced from his wife of 31 years, the New York governor's chances for the Republican nomination plummeted. Furious about the adverse national reaction, Rockefeller plunged into the campaign for the nomination anyway and even when he conceded defeat in 1964, he reportedly vowed to stay in politics to "vindicate" his wife and himself.

Consulting the advice of noted public relations consultants, he received advice that in order to get another shot at the nomination he should retain his political base as governor of New York, but humbly renounce his presidential aspirations.

Meanwhile, says Edwards, Rocky would use the vast resources at his command to keep him before the public as a presidential contender. Criticism of his divorce and remarriage would fade under the triple impact of his non-candidate role, favorable opinion polls and the passing of time.

Notes Edwards: "The formula has worked. As late as September 13 Rockefeller was claiming in an interview that he no longer had the 'inner drive' necessary for pursuit of the presidential nomination. But current polls show him defeating President Johnson. . . . [Recently] Rockefeller conceded he was considering acceptance of the role of his state's favorite son at the GOP convention. He is no longer the 'unequivocal' non-candidate."

• In pursuing the nomination, Rockefeller, it is noted, is continuing to trim his political sails toward port. He has already (see our October 7 issue, page 5) praised LBJ's anti-poverty program and has apparently even spotted civil rights progress in the militant racial outbursts that engulfed the cities this summer.

The New York governor, furthermore, appears to be softening his hawklike position on Viet Nam—not enough yet to be in the Hatfield-Percy-Morton camp—but just enough to please some of the Republican "moderates" and "doves" who are opposed to Nixon's "tough-on-Hanoi" stance. Sources close to the governor were letting out the word last week that Rocky is "deeply concerned" about the continued escalation of the war.

Even more indicative that Rocky is switching to doveish tendencies is the fact that Sen. Hatfield states he "would very much" like to see Rocky in the presidential race and that Lt. Gen. James Gavin, the peacenik general, has made it clear he could back the New York governor (but could not, for example, support Nixon). By inching his way leftward, it is said, Rocky is giving the high-sign to Republican liberals that he is all set to take off in 1968.

HIGH MARKS FOR REAGAN'S FIRST YEAR IN OFFICE

By Lee Edwards

Reprints of article from the September 30, 1967, issue of HUMAN EVENTS. All orders filled same day received. Reprints folded to fit business-sized envelopes.

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REAGAN

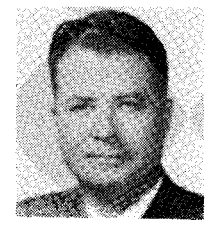
California Gov. **Ronald Reagan** scored a major political triumph with his Eureka, Ill., appearance last week. The Chicago Sun-Times' John Dreiske, the state's number one political reporter, wrote that Reagan had taken a "huge stride in the direction of the [GOP presidential] nomination."

REAGAN

Virtually every GOP leader in the state was on hand and Dreiske reported that "the politicians' enthusiasm for Reagan as a candidate for the nomination almost matched that of starry-eyed females of all ages who melted before the Reagan approach."

Dreiske was particularly impressed with the manner in which Reagan handled the press: "Here is where Reagan also comes on strong. He answers all those questions in press conferences but he answers them carefully, earnestly and wisely. His hip-shooting is disciplined and Republicans seeking a man who'll help the state ticket in '68 would feel safe with Reagan in next year's campaigns."

• Southern Republicans have been particularly impressed with Reagan. South Carolina's GOP Chairman Harry Dent, who was Reagan's host during the governor's recent fund-raising appearance in Columbia, S.C., is known to want Reagan somewhere on the GOP ticket next year.



MARTIN

Former Rep. James Martin (D.-Ala.), a strong Nixon supporter, told reporters Allen and Scott after huddling with Reagan in his hotel suite in Columbia: "I'm here to see the future. A ticket with Reagan on it would sweep the South."

• The California Republican State Central Committee has unanimously adopted a resolution endorsing Reagan as California's "favorite son" candidate for President in 1968. The resolution said that Reagan's favorite son status would provide the best means of unifying the 86-member delegation to the 1968 GOP National Convention.

IDAHO

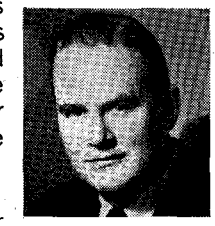
Sen. **Frank Church** (D.-Idaho) has bluntly told the President that he faces overwhelming defeat in 1968. LBJ recently invited 10 Democratic senators, all up for re-election next year, for a White House talk on the campaign.

CHURCH

Church minced no words, citing a poll recently taken in a bellweather Idaho precinct. Of 35 people who had voted for Johnson in 1964, only three said they would do so again. Church told the President that he must slash government spending to recapture his 1964 support, terminating all public works "boondoggles" and putting a lid on escalating federal salaries.

MARYLAND

Maryland Democrats outnumber Republicans 3 to 1. Nevertheless, GOP Congressmen Rogers Morton and Charles Mathias are willing and anxious to give up safe House seats next year for a statewide Senate race.



BREWSTER

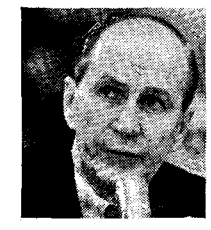
Incumbent Democrat **Daniel B. Brewster** is so weak that both congressmen would be rated strong favorites for the Senate. Mathias, a liberal, and Morton, a moderate-conservative, huddled last week with GOP Gov. Spiro T. Agnew and other party leaders on the 1968 campaign. Sometime before spring one of the two will be selected for the race.

Brewster, a handsome World War II veteran, has only himself to blame for his political troubles. His divorce and remarriage have alienated many Catholic voters. His excessive and well-publicized "socializing" has disgusted others. His puppet-like support of the Johnson Administration has won him a weak-kneed image.

It is highly possible that Brewster will be dumped by Free State Democrats next year. Among the Democratic leaders considering a primary challenge are Rep. Clarence Long, Baltimore County Executive H. Dale Anderson, and former Rep. Carlton Sickles.

GAVIN

Sen. Mark Hatfield (R.-Ore.) has raised, somewhat, the almost non-existent chances for a GOP presidential nomination of retired Lt. Gen. **James M. Gavin,** the peacenik general who has previously been allied with the Kennedys. (JFK used as one of his major issues in 1960 Gavin's charge that the U.S. suffered from a "missile gap." When Kennedy took office and found this was totally untrue, he nevertheless rewarded Gavin for his aid in the campaign by making him ambassador to France.)



GAVIN

The dovish senator had much praise for Gavin, pointing out that the general could be in the Oregon free-for-all primary without having to declare as a candidate. Acknowledging that Gavin's chances were slim for nomination, Hatfield insisted that the general "is a very deep thinker, a man who is a military expert, a man who combines intellectualism with military expertise" and should "certainly be listened to."

• Dr. Herschel Jick of Lexington, Mass., a 35-year-old physician who is an assistant professor at Tufts University Medical School in Boston, has announced a nationwide drive to persaude Gen. Gavin to run for the GOP presidential nomination and put him in the White House. An amateur in politics, Dr. Jick heads the Citizens to Draft Gavin Committee which recently took out a six-column ad in the New York Times suggesting that Gavin could win the Republican nomination by an "overwhelming groundswell of grass-root support."

KENNEDY

Sen. **Robert F. Kennedy** (D.-N.Y.) is now preferred by Democrats over President Johnson as the party's 1968 presidential candidate, the Gallup poll reports.

Kennedy, who continues to take pot shots at Johnson's policies, was picked by 39 per cent of the Democrats polled by Gallup as their choice to run for President next year. Johnson drew support from 37 per cent.

WALLACE

Southern Republicans are actively pushing an anti-**George Wallace** campaign in Dixie with the slogan, "A Vote for Wallace is a Vote for Johnson."

WALLACE

GOP party officials, riding a wave of growing Republican strength in the formerly solid Democratic South, say almost any Republican could whip President Johnson in a two-way race. But, they concede, a Wallace candidacy would siphon off votes on which the GOP would depend.

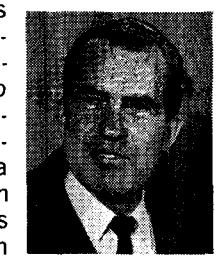
Southern GOP strategists in South Carolina, where Wallace is running strong, say they presently have no plans to bar the former Alabama governor from the ballot. Currently, according to J. Drake Edens Jr., South Carolina's national Republican committeeman, his organization plans to circulate reprints of a newspaper article quoting Democratic leaders as suggesting that Wallace could save South Carolina for LBJ.

"We must convince the voters, said Edens, "that if they vote for Wallace, they are really voting to keep Johnson in the White House for four more years."

• Some Alabamians, it is said, are trying to convince Wallace that he can only serve as a spoiler for a Republican candidate should he make his bid for the presidency. They are urging him to seek, instead, the seat of Sen. Lister Hill (D.-Ala.), who will be up for re-election in 1968.

NIXON

Former Vice President **Richard Nixon's** recent article on urban violence in the Reader's Digest has received highly favorable comment from Republican politicos who think Nixon can capture the GOP nomination if he hues to a conservative position on domestic politics as well as on foreign affairs.



NIXON

Nixon laid part of the blame for the rising crime rate on court decisions, criticized teachers, clergymen and politicians who say that society rather than the criminal is to blame for crime and called for sending more police into the slums.

"Some people will argue that dispatching thousands of police into the slums will not solve the problems of jobs and housing and schools or alleviate the conditions that breed crime and violence," said Nixon. "No," he stressed, "it will not; but the first requisite of progress is peace and the purpose of these police is to ensure that peace."

Nixon also criticized the lavish welfare set-up which permits generations of people to become "semi-permanent wards of the state."

• An Associated Press survey of political pros last week revealed Nixon as the man to beat in the crucial GOP presidential primaries in New Hampshire, Wisconsin and Nebraska.

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Mineral Rights at Stake

Seabed Sovereignty Issue Before U.N.

By ALICE WIDENER

Malta has proposed at the United Nations: "The use of the seabed and ocean floor underlying the seas and beyond the limits of present national jurisdiction shall be undertaken with the aim of safeguarding the interests of mankind. The net financial benefits derived from the use and exploitation of the seabed and of the ocean floor shall be used primarily to promote the development of poor countries."

The Maltese resolution puts the problem of hydrospace on the national and international table. Most Americans never heard of hydrospace, but it soon will become a household word. Tommy and Mary will be told to eat their sea-flakes before going off to school; Daddy will be driving off to work in a car with ocean-floor minerals in the motor; Mommy will be longing for a pair of sea-gold earrings.

Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg told the U.N. that the United States considers exploration and use of the ocean floor comparable in importance to the exploration of space. He understated the case. So much progress is being made in going down through hydrospace to ocean floors that scientists now know there is much more wealth there than dreamed of by Columbus when he set out to find a short route to the riches of the Indies.

As many greedy hands are grasping for ocean floor wealth as reached out for stakes in the fabled days of the Gold Rush. Luxury-loving politicians in nations unable to contribute an iota of work or scientific research in exploration of the ocean floor are scheming how to get their hands on what the United States will produce through marvelous American hydrospace technology.

In a recent article for *U.S.A.* magazine, Anthony Harrigan, associate editor of the Charleston *News & Courier*, called for U.S. sovereignty over seabeds contiguous to our nation's coasts. He reminded us that in 1945 President Harry Truman wisely declared that the United States regards the natural resources of the subsoil and seabed of the Continental Shelf contiguous to our nation as "appertaining to the United States, subject to its jurisdiction and control."

We should keep such jurisdiction and control and never forfeit them to the U.N. If we don't, we shall be involved some day in a major hassle over the Gulf of Mexico seabed and the ocean floors off our Atlantic and Pacific coasts.

Dr. Athelstan F. Spilhaus, dean of the University of Minnesota Institute of Technology, said in *Science* magazine, "Man is going to colonize the oceans."

In 1963 the U.S. Navy lowered Sealab I to the ocean floor in 192 feet of water off Bermuda. In 1965 Sealab II was placed on the ocean bottom in 205 feet of water; Sealab III will conduct an underseas living experiment at a depth of 500 feet.

Many ocean floor areas are strewn with recoverable nodules of cobalt, nickel, copper, manganese and iron worth an estimated $10 million per square mile.

Suppose our Navy researchers discover an ocean bed of immense wealth in waters contiguous to the United States. Should 121 quarreling U.N. member states be permitted to tell us how to manage our discovery and to demand the profits?

The in-fighting at the U.N. over financial matters is disgusting now and everybody knows it. What would be the situation in the U.N. General Assembly if there arose a dispute over which nation should get what share of a U.S.-discovered gold mine off Alaska? The ruckus would make the Arab-Israeli name-calling contest seem like a love feast.

We Americans should let out a loud and clear "No!" to the Maltese proposal for U.N. control over the seabeds. Congress would be wise to reinforce President Truman's declaration concerning U.S. undersea rights and jurisdiction. Otherwise we'll have a 6,000-population nation maintaining a U.N. embassy on Park Avenue where 60 diplomats with Cadillacs can live it up on loot from American-financed and American-developed hydrospace enterprises.

(U.S.A. Syndicate)

☐ ☐ ☐

"THE 'GREAT SOCIETY' takes care of its own and it starts at the very top! Now that the Texas state government has acquired rights to 269.2 acres of land (most of it taken through some highly questionable condemnation proceedings) across the Pedernales River from President Johnson's ranch near Stonewall, Tex., the Federal Bureau of Outdoor Recreation has announced it is giving the state $160,000 to help develop the land into what someday will become known as 'The Lyndon Baines Johnson State Park; . . . a living memorial and tribute to our President, conveniently built at taxpayer's expense in time to substantially increase the value of his own property while simultaneously protecting his famous LBJ Ranch from any unwanted housing or commercial construction."—By Fulton Lewis III

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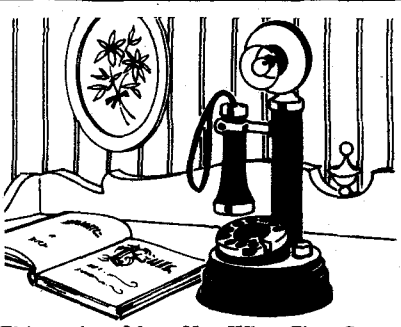
DON'T ARGUE about today's "mess"

Do it the easy, effective way. Hand 'em a little card. It will give them a chuckle as it also gives them an "injection." Send name, address, $1. and this ad to 'Tain't Funny but True, Drawer 72, Whittier, Calif. 90608, for AN ASSORTMENT OF THESE CLEVER (that's why they're effective) LITTLE CARDS.



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Some Churchmen Selling Capitalist System Short

By BARRY GOLDWATER

Lately, there have been more and more attacks on capitalism by men of the cloth. Having despaired of attacking capitalism on the basis of accomplishment, a basis on which it is beyond compare, anticapitalists are now turning to a religious attack—or, at least, what they pass off as a religious attack.

The most recent Papal encyclical, referring to the evils of capitalism, is a well-known example. The simplest summing up of these arguments, however, is one that appeared recently in a well-known American religious magazine.

It made this point: "capitalism . . . ignores the community and sets the individual at war with his neighbor's interests".

This seems to be an almost uniquely religious misconception of capitalism. Marxists oppose it on historical grounds (it's just a necessarily evil phase of mankind's development). Various economists oppose it because they claim they could (although they never do) organize production better.

With all due respect to the ministers and priests who have taken the lead in opposing capitalism, the truth of the matter should be sorted out and stated. Capitalism not only needs spokesmen, it needs defense against distortion. On the basis of facts and performance alone it can easily hold its own.

Let's take the elements of the misconception one by one. First, that capitalism ignores the community. Nothing could be further from the truth. Capitalism is, in fact, the only system that absolutely cannot afford to ignore the community. It has no means of compulsion at its disposal. It depends wholly on the community—some men in the community making a product or providing a service, the others in the community either buying or rejecting the product or service, whether it be a machine or a fine painting.

Capitalism, in essence, is simply a system based on the exchange of value for value, voluntarily.

Various forms of socialism, on the other hand, despite the strange appeal they hold for so many religious spokesmen, are based primarily upon the power of government to force people to "do what is right—according to an official definition of what is right." Such systems, by definition, must ignore the community or at least that part of the community that dissents, in order to set and enforce its standards.

The second part of the distortion is that capitalism "sets the individual at war with his neighbor's interests." Again, nothing could be further from the truth.

The capitalist who went to war with his neighbor's interests would commit capital suicide. It is only, repeat, only in serving his neighbor's interests, in giving them something that they want, that a capitalist can get what he wants, which is an honest return from those very same neighbors.

This is true even in wages paid to build the products which are sold to all of his neighbors, including the very neighbors hired to build the products or perform the service in the first place. Those wages must hold a decent, sensible balance between what is required to get the work done and what is required to maintain a price that will make the product salable and, in capitalism's full circle, make the jobs possible in the first place.

Finally, there is the fact that only in capitalism is every man guaranteed the opportunity, on the basis of his own skill and energy, to become an employer (a user of capital, or savings, to build a business) rather than an employe. In socialism everywhere, the ranks of the employers, the bureaucracy, tend to become clannish and, of course, totally political. Under socialism it is who you know. Under capitalism it is what you do.

It is to the actual accomplishments of capitalism and not imagined ills that the attention of the critics should be turned. They might then cease to be critics and become understanding advocates.

(Copyright 1967, Los Angeles *Times*)

□ □ □

RIOT CAUSES—Writing on the Mont Pelerin Society meeting in Vichy, France, *Human Events* columnist John Chamberlain reports that "one of the themes of discussion was the chaos that threatens in America. One particularly telling report was submitted by Prof. Arthur Kemp of California, who told about the looting and pillaging that made the summer a horror in a hundred American cities. As a good economist, he attributed the explosive mixture to (*1*) the minimum wage laws, which tell Negro youths in the ghetto that 'if you haven't a specific talent, you may not work'; (*2*) the fact that if it is so decreed by the federal urban renewal bulldozers, you must move into even more restricted quarters in a worse slum; (*3*) the certainty that if you own property in the core of a great city you will be deprived by the tax structure and the rent control laws of any incentive to keep it up; and (*4*), the distressing hypocrisy of the labor unions that keeps Negroes from entering the better-paying crafts and trades."

□ □ □

HOW'S THAT AGAIN?—"Nine nations on September 12 sponsored a new bid for entry of Red China into the United Nations, saying Peking has 'always displayed full respect for the independence and dignity of other countries.' Such as India and Tibet, maybe?"—From the Indianapolis *Star*

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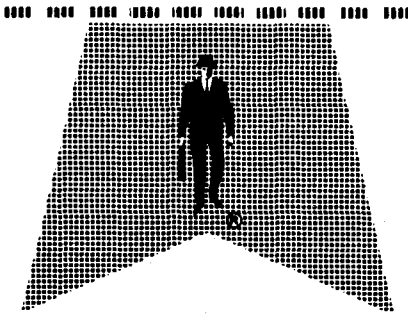

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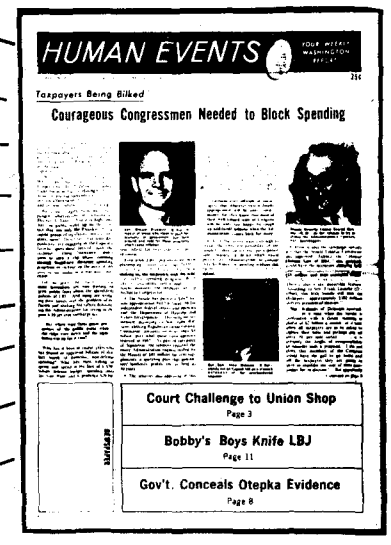

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Presidential Commission Declares War on Property Owners

By KEN THOMPSON

Let the landlord beware: If a special presidential commission has its way, the government will soon be fomenting "rent strikes," organizing tenants into unions, drumming up suits against the owners of rental property and financing tenant-owned cooperative housing. The battle plan for a new war on property owners is spelled out in a recently issued government report, the details of which are examined in the following article.

In August an unruly mob of nearly 100 chanting, clapping demonstrators invaded the public galleries of the House of Representatives. The demonstration led to a brief outbreak of violence which resulted in the arrest of eight persons. One of the leaders of the group was the well-known Harlem agitator, Jesse Gray.

Identified under oath as a former Communist, Gray is best known as the main organizer of a "rent strike" movement in New York. He is also a $50-a-day consultant for a Harlem anti-poverty project financed by Washington.

Several weeks ago on "Face the Nation," the boss of the federal "War on Poverty," Sargent Shriver, denied any responsibility for Gray's involvement in the project. He told members of the television panel that even though his office puts up the money it has no control over how local agencies spend it or what kind of people they hire.

Shriver, no doubt, would also deny that his agency has anything to do with such radical and blatantly illegal activities as "rent strikes" which Jesse Gray is promoting. But don't you believe it!

Shriver's Office of Economic Opportunity—and several other federal agencies as well—are up to their ears pushing not only that specific form of activity, but a number of equally radical campaigns aimed at owners of rental property.

OEO is financing an experimental project in the Hough area of Cleveland whose goal, according to the *National Observer,* "is to enroll all Hough tenants in a tenant union that will be composed of 'locals' covering one- and two-block areas." Shriver's office is spending $57,000 to organize the tenants into unions and has earmarked another $20,000 to evaluate the "experiment."

In Pittsburgh an anti-poverty project has recently been launched to wage a war on the owners of slum property. Its activities, according to syndicated columnist Charles Bartlett, will include "preparations for a city-wide rent strike."

These are only two "pilot projects" which do not affect a great many citizens and taxpayers. They are, perhaps, merely trial balloons. More likely they are the opening salvos of an all-out war on the owners of rental property.

Six weeks ago the Government Printing Office published a 44-page document entitled "Tenant Rights: Legal Tools for Better Housing," which serves as a blueprint of how such a war might be fought. The publication is a report on the conclusions and recommendations of a special presidential commission which met last December in Washington to explore the whole question of slum housing and how the legal rights of tenants—and the powers of government officials—might be expanded to improve living conditions in the urban ghettos.

The commission was jointly sponsored by OEO, the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Justice Department, as well as the White House. Its members—34 officials from various federal agencies and 45 lawyers, professors and local officials—were appointed by Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark.

But it was the President himself who ordered the undertaking and who set the tone for the commission's radical conclusions when, a year ago, he made a rabble-rousing speech in Syracuse, N.Y., calling for a new federal war on "those who exploit the poor and who have been exploiting them for years."

Considering the high-level sponsorship of the panel—not to mention the radical proposals which its members have made—it is astonishing that the report has received virtually no attention to date.

It is perhaps understandable that the news media did not pay much attention to the report when it was published, for it came off the presses during the week that newscasters and editors had little time or space available for anything other than the insurrection then in progress in Detroit. But Washington bureaucrats normally spend considerable time, effort and money trying to publicize undertakings of this sort. For some reason, there has been no evidence of the usual public relations or propaganda blitz in this instance.

It seems very likely that the government agencies and officials who sponsored this project have intentionally soft-pedaled the whole matter. For the conclusions and recommendations of the conference on tenant rights are so extreme that they would be considered shocking by all but the most radical elements in our society. In a preface to the report, in fact, the federal sponsors make an attempt to get themselves off the hook with a disclaimer to the effect that they do not necessarily share the views of the conferees.

Those views, however, are extremely one-sided, and if there was much dissent from the federal officials who comprised nearly half of the conference membership, the report failed to detect or record it. It is logical to assume that most of the federal participants were not only in sympathy with the radical proposals which came out of the conference, but that they probably led the battle for their adoption.

The report opens with a sweeping claim that American laws governing private property are medieval and must be changed. "Today's property laws," it asserts, "often obstruct rather than assist in America's efforts to obtain decent housing for low-income tenants. Their basic concepts are derived with all too little change from the laws of feudal England."

Hence from the very outset the participants in the conference dropped a subject they might legitimately have explored—a discussion of how to protect rights already guaranteed by law—in favor of asserting new rights (and wrongs) under a more "modern" set of laws.

The heart of the legal problem, according to the report, is that present property laws "are drawn to favor landlords." Even state and local housing codes which are designed to keep landlords and other property owners in line and to protect tenants are inadequate. A basic trouble is that the tenants can't—or at least don't—enforce these codes themselves.

Most legal cases involving landlord-tenant relationships occur when the landlord sues his tenant for failure to pay rent or to have him evicted for that or another reason. In such cases the participants in the conference favored greater assertion of what they called the tenant's "defensive" rights. To this end, they urge that the Neighborhood Legal Service—the "Judicare" program now sponsored by OEO and HUD—be greatly expanded.

When a landlord sues a tenant, "Judicare" lawyers would rush in to defend him—free, of course—and, according to the report, they should uphold his "defensive" rights "irrespective of the tenant's abilities, or even at times when he is not present to assert them."

But "defensive" rights are only a small part of the conferees' concern. Their chief desire is to see that the roles of plaintiff and defendant be reversed in landlord-tenant legal battles. In other words, they want to see tenants suing landlords for a change, whenever possible. To promote this, they defined a series of "offensive" rights which, in many cases, the tenants themselves could assert—with help and encouragement from Washington and elsewhere.

One of the ways in which the tenant could take the offensive is to seek remedies in court. If he is dissatisfied with his living conditions, he should be encouraged to seek a court injunction which would require the landlord to make the necessary repairs. He might also be permitted to pay his rent to a court, which would withhold the money from the landlord until he agrees to use it for repairs.

One advantage of the latter approach, according to the conference, is that it "insures that the entire rent will be spent for repairs"—so that the landlord couldn't fritter away his income on mortgage payments or making a profit.

Unfortunately, the report acknowledges, rents in slum areas are not very high and, "unless a large number of tenants are involved, the money accumulates too slowly to be used for any but minor repairs." (That, of course, might be one reason why the landlord is often in a poor position to make major repairs on his own.)

Besides, the conferees complain, the courts are slow in such matters and probably would be reluctant to require landlords to make repairs desired by the tenants but not required by law. (One would certainly hope the courts would be reluctant to go beyond the law.) And, of course, it's hard to get tenants to understand that they are being exploited, to incite them to the point that they will go to court.

New York, for example, has a law permitting the tenants of multiple dwellings to pay their rent in court for repairs if one-third of the tenants in the building agree. The law has been successful "on occasion," the report claims, but usually tenants are "too unversed

Poverty czar Sargent Shriver claims his office has little or no control over the people it hires to administer the programs.

or apathetic to organize the necessary number."

A more effective remedy might be for the tenant to make repairs himself or hire others to make them "and reimburse himself out of what otherwise he might pay in rent."

This, too, would present problems. Again, the rent is so low that only very minor repairs could be made, and "the tenant must take the risk of reimbursement." What risk? Why should he be reimbursed if he's not paying rent?

The report cites a California statute which permits tenants to make repairs and charge the landlord. But it has not been very effective, say the conferees, because it is limited to the repair of defective conditions which arise after the beginning of the lease term. Apparently the conference would favor no such limit.

In its view, tenants could move into a dilapidated building, sign a lease agreeing to pay rent—very likely a small sum reflecting the building's condition—and then proceed to make repairs and bill the landlord.

No one forces a tenant to move into a substandard dwelling. If he does so, he can't expect to have the place put in tip-top condition with the money he has agreed to pay in rent and without having the rent increased. That, however, is exactly what the conference seemed to expect.

The most direct remedy which the conference favored was the "rent strike"—or as the report prefers to call it, "rent abatement."

The report describes this tactic as one whose principal advantage is its "simplicity and inherent fairness." If the landlord doesn't maintain his property in good condition, why should the tenant continue to pay rent? Again, the rent usually reflects the condition of the property. Perhaps the tenant should not be required to pay the same rent if its condition deteriorates, but that probably doesn't happen very often. For, as the report notes, "the term of tenancy in slum housing is typically very

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short—usually 30 days." And very often what damages occur are caused by the tenants themselves—a matter the report doesn't go into beyond the naive assertion to the contrary that slum tenants "are forced to live in dirt and squalor produced by others."

In the relatively small number of cases where deterioration of the property is the landlord's fault or responsibility, the tenant can, of course, move out. Nobody forces him to continue paying rent—and to continue living there. Or, perhaps, he might even be justified in withholding a portion of the rent to compensate for the reduction in the property's value.

If he has agreed to pay $50 per month for a five-room apartment, for example, and one of the rooms becomes uninhabitable, perhaps a $10 "rent strike" would be appropriate. This sort of approach, of course, would be complicated and subject to dispute. The conference favored the total approach: tenants should quit paying rent altogether when their housing conditions are substandard. For one thing, said the report, "rent strikes" would provide tenants with a "substantial element of vindication" and that would serve as "an emotional outlet for the ghetto-bound poor."

Forget about the emotional problems of the poor landlord, and the fact that he very likely wouldn't be able to hold on to his property very long—much less repair it—if his income were cut off by rent strikes.

Even rent strikes, however, do not provide the perfect remedy, say the conferees. Occasionally you run into a case where a building is so run-down that the landlord doesn't even bother to charge any rent. If his tenants "would rather pay rent and live in a decent building . . . they ought therefore be able to compel their landlord to maintain the premises in good condition even when he would rather not do so and lose his rent." How's that for a "modern" version of property rights?

Or, for another, take the suggestion that "subjecting a tenant to substandard living conditions might be a tort entitling him to damages." This would not be limited to physical injury, for which tenants can already collect damages, of course. It would be used to punish landlords for "imposing" substandard conditions on their tenants, and to reward the latter for putting up with these conditions. "The tenant's failure to exercise his legal right to move out," the report continues, "could not be construed as consent to, or assumption of the risk of, living under conditions imposed." Who forces him to live there? Who imposes conditions on him? Who prevents him from moving out? Nobody. But that doesn't make any difference.

In order for all of these new tenant "rights" to be truly effective, the conference felt that several additional things would be necessary.

First and foremost, the tenant must be protected from landlord retaliation when and if he asserts his new "rights." It was suggested that each landlord be required by law to insert a clause in every lease granting tenants the right to sue him if his property is not kept up to standard.

There are statutes presently on the books in Massachusetts and in Philadelphia prohibiting landlords from evicting tenants who complain to officials about code violations. But these laws were described as "inadequate," because they would not prohibit eviction after the landlord satisfied the complaint by making repairs.

Militant Harlemite Jesse Gray addressed newsmen after conferring with New York congressmen on the rat control bill. Gray was the leader of a brief but violent demonstration in the House of Representatives August 7.

The conference favored a prohibition against retaliatory evictions "no matter how long after the event they occur." That might not sound terribly unreasonable, but in effect it would probably make it extremely difficult for a landlord ever to evict a tenant for any reason. The tenant would merely have to register one complaint, and from then on could scream "retaliation" if his landlord ever tried to throw him out. This would lead to a dispute which, according to the conferees, could be decided by rules "comparable to those of the National Labor Relations Board."

And how often does the NLRB rule in favor of an employer? About as often as an NLRB-type housing court or board would take the word of a landlord over that of a tenant and permit an eviction.

The conference also concluded that tenant "unions"—while not absolutely essential—should be encouraged. Tenant "unions" have been formed in several cities, and the report noted with glee that in one of them, Chicago, "most of the buildings which have been organized have been sold to nonprofit charitable organizations." Presumably the previous owners threw up their hands in disgust and decided they could no longer afford to stay in the business of renting property. What would happen, where would the nation's tenants be, if every owner of rental property were forced to make a similar decision?

If tenants must be protected from landlords, they must also be protected from themselves, the conference participants concluded. If they don't already know it, they will have to be taught that the landlord is their enemy, and they must be instructed and helped in pursuing him in the courts.

The Neighborhood Legal Service now operated by OEO and HUD is "a significant step in this direction," says the report, "but not enough." The conference recommended that the service be sharply expanded in size and power.

Specifically, it was suggested that NLS offices be established in slum areas and that they be permitted to seek evidence of code violations and to present such evidence in court. More money and more bureaucrats, of course, would be required if the Feds are going to go into the business of hunting for code violations and drumming up legal cases against landlords.

For example, the report notes that "it may cost as much as $150 to hire a plumber to perform an inspection and appear in court to testify." The landlord, who is a taxpayer too, would be expected to pay part of the cost of finding evidence to be used against himself.

It is, of course, a violation of legal rules and ethics for attorneys to solicit individuals or groups for the purpose of litigation. In fact, there are several current cases pending against the NLS, which has been accused of illegal organizing and soliciting activities. The conferees felt that these restrictions ought to be removed or altered "when low-income individuals are involved." In other words, they favored legal discrimination—one set of rules or ethics for the poor, another for the rich. The end, you see, would justify the means.

The legal needs of the poor may be so great, the report asserts, that even a drastic expansion of free federal "Judicare" couldn't do the job. Private lawyers may have to be brought into the act. But private lawyers, of course, cost money.

One way to surmount that problem, the conferees suggested, would be to abandon the traditional American rule against the recovery of attorneys' fees—at least as that rule "applies to tenants' actions or to small claims generally" (there's that legal discrimination again). If there were no rule prohibiting recovery of attorneys' fees, a defendant would not only be liable for damages and the cost of defending himself, but could be required to pay for the privilege of being sued if he were billed for the cost of providing the plaintiff with a lawyer.

The conference even suggested that, while their services are "free," NLS attorneys' "fees" ought to be recoverable. That way the taxpayers might be saved some money and the landlords would pay a greater part of the cost of this legal vendetta waged against them. Besides, if private attorneys' fees were recoverable, but NLS lawyers' fees were not, landlords might discover that it is cheaper to be sued by a tenant who "employs" a government lawyer, whose actions would therefore be rendered "less forceful than those of private attorneys."

The rule against recovery of attorneys' fees, of course, is designed to prevent unnecessary litigation, to encourage settlements out of court and to keep legal costs within the bounds of reason.

It is rather ironic that a presidential conference which started with the assumption that our concept of property is "derived with all too little change from the laws of feudal England," should come out in favor of this particular reform. For the fact is that the recovery of legal fees was a custom initiated in medieval England!

Radical Proposals Of LBJ's Commission

Although the conferees were chiefly concerned with tenants' "rights," they made several other recommendations which ought to be noted briefly:

• They complained that the enforcement of housing codes and the prosecution of landlords for violating them "require high standards of proof and elaborate procedural safeguards" which perhaps could be lowered or removed.

They also complained that landlords are too often able to postpone or escape punishment by appealing their cases through the courts, and favored the avoidance of appeals or trials *de novo*. (They did not, of course, object to the fact that the same judicial safeguards protect tenants in the courts. Nor did they criticize the NLS for having appealed to higher courts on several occasions on behalf of tenants.)

• They suggested that landlords might be required to submit reports regularly on the condition of their property to federal officials, as they now are required to supply financial information for income tax purposes.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights was suggested as a "model" watchdog agency which could look into possible violations. Because such reports could lead to convictions, some of the conferees wondered if it would be constitutional to require landlords in effect to confess to guilt, to incriminate themselves. Apparently not too many of them, however, were terribly concerned about the problem. After all, the 5th Amendment and other constitutional safeguards weren't devised to protect landlords, were they?

• The biggest contribution the federal government could make, naturally, was to supply funds—much more than it is doling out at present—for everything from rent subsidies to tenant cooperatives. In particular it ought to lend out a great deal more money for the construction of low-rent housing at even lower rates of interest or none at all.

Federal lending institutions should liberalize their policies to include "the acceptance of a reasonable percentage of losses on loans." (Many taxpayers who have been left holding the bag might suggest that the present high rate of defaults on such loans is already rather unreasonable.)

• And with more money, the conference felt, there should naturally be more strings attached which would give the federal government more "leverage" to compel state and local governments to adopt tougher landlord-tenant laws and stronger, more uniform housing codes.

The conferees backed away from this just a trifle, however, cautioning that too many strings all at one time might lead some state and local officials to pass up the opportunity to get more manna from Washington. They noted that in some of its programs, HUD has adopted "somewhat relaxed" standards. If it hadn't done so, "very few cities could have qualified for federal aid."

Heaven forbid!

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Makes Pitch to S.F. Hippies

Gov. Romney Goes Slumming for Votes

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

The returns are not yet in on Gov. George Romney's political tour of the United States. So far, it is certain that only his clipping service profited by the trip. There were stories in plenty to fill the newspapers. But for a presidential candidate, newspaper lineage is not enough—and it can be a detriment if it makes the subject of all the publicity look undignified.

And that is George Romney's problem. At first squint, he is the model of a model for executive-type clothing. His hair is the proper shade of gray, he wears the starch on his collar easily, and his shoes are never scuffed. But since he entered the arena of national politics, he has shown a tendency to shatter this image.

The temper is a little short, his lack of concern for the rules of political discourse too pronounced, and his obvious irritation over the failure of the press to accept him on his own terms too apparent. The national tour, presumably to make a survey of conditions in urban centers, did nothing to restore Mr. Romney to his former condition of sartorial and political rectitude.

For one thing, the corporation president who goes all folksy with the hired help is never convincing. Mr. Romney's passage through Negro slum areas was too obviously contrived. Vote gathering is an old American custom, like baby-kissing and hand-shaking. But Gov. Romney pitched it just a little too strongly.

His concern for the low-income Negro may be deep and genuine. But trading arguments with "Black Power" extremists who challenge his religion neither wins votes nor adds to his dignity.

That dignity took its biggest beating in San Francisco when George Romney made an appearance at a hippie picnic. While the newest proponents of disorganized uncleanliness chomped on corn-on-the-cob, Mr. Romney tried to make political Brownie points. In the entire gathering, there were no more than 250 hippies—and if any of them is qualified to vote in San Francisco's presidential primary next year, this writer will eat a necklace of hippie love beads without mustard.

Gov. and Mrs. Romney, at right, made the scene with San Francisco's hippies during his recent "non-political" tour of the nation's cities.

The man who covets the presidential nomination looked ill at ease and interested only in the little red eye of the television cameras. He was clearly out to make news, not to win over the raggle-taggle gypsies of hippieville who surrounded him. The cries of "legalize pot" which greeted his approach were a measure of the seriousness of the occasion. An uncomfortable Mrs. Romney called out, "I want to know how you feel about society," and she received a pertinent answer: "We're the children of darkness." The governor sagely advised the hippies that the country would be better off if "we let tobacco alone, and drugs alone, and all forms of alcohol."

The nearest thing to a political comment came from a barefoot girl, sitting on the unkempt shoulders of a long-haired hippie, who asked: "If you're elected, will you provide free food in the park every day?"

George Romney made the newspapers and the night news shows. But in losing dignity, he paradoxically made himself seem more stuffy than usual. He had forgotten that Americans, more subconsciously than not, want something else of the man they elect to the presidency. He must never be ridiculous, and he must approach the office with seriousness. It was not because Adlai Stevenson occasionally resorted to wit that many Americans rejected him. It was the superciliousness that broke through his wit which hurt the most.

To seek votes among the hippies who don't vote anyway—and to pass off this search as an effort to discover the root causes of America's complex urban problem—did not do the Romney candidacy any good. The general reaction was one of amusement, but most Americans have too much respect for the presidency to support a candidate they are laughing at.

Whoever advised Mr. Romney that this was the way to reach the heart of America did not know the country to which he was appealing. Harry Truman made many mistakes in his day, but he never forgot to take the voter seriously. And he won in 1948 for the same reasons that may give President Johnson a victory in 1968—he never condescended.

Gov. Romney's journey may be an exercise in futility. There are few among the political experts who give him any real chance of galvanizing his party and winning over the indispensable county chairmen, state chairmen, precinct workers, and grass-roots Republicans who so strongly condition the outcome of a national convention. But if the contest for the nomination is to become meaningful for George Romney, he will have to think of more serious matters than getting his name in the newspapers.

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Floating Shell Game

From the Dallas *Morning News*

Lately some of the "Great Society's" critics have taken to calling the President indecisive in time of crisis. This is hardly fair.

In fact, whenever one of our cities explodes, a crime wave threatens or some other event provokes a call for leadership, the President is always quick to act. He can almost always be counted on to step before the television cameras and announce the appointment of a new blue-ribbon committee to look into the situation.

We have lived in an Age of Committees, under Democrats and Republicans, so Mr. Johnson is in style with recent times.

Trouble is, there have been so many emergencies the last few years that we are fast running out of fresh blue-ribbon talent. McCone, Lindsay and all the other old standbys can only deliberate in one place at a time.

Therefore, the danger grows that we may soon be confronted with crisis situations that the White House cannot find fact-finding panels for. With blue-ribbon reserves getting thin, this might force the use of red-ribbon or even yellow-ribbon committeemen in making studies for the President.

One solution might be for the President to appoint a permanent, blue-ribbon, presidential, fact-finding commission. Such a commission could be modeled on past groups, to include a balanced collection of concerned citizens qualified to study anything.

It should include Bobby Kennedy and Barry Goldwater, Tuesday Weld and Chief Justice Warren, J. Edgar Hoover and one of the 10-most wanted, H. Rap Brown and Imperial Wizard Shelton, Svetlana Stalin and Gus Hall, the current presidents of both the Daughters of the American Revolution and of the Students for a Democratic Society, Arthur Schlesinger and William F. Buckley, Shirley Temple Black and Bettina Aptheker, Dean Martin and Jerry Lewis, the rock-ribbed coast of Maine and the sunny shores of California.

This panel would always be on call in time of national emergency. Thus, the President could always have a group of big-name performers on hand to receive the buck when he decides to pass. While this committee might not be able to solve the problem, their meetings should serve to divert attention from it, which seems to be the main purpose of such bodies, anyhow.

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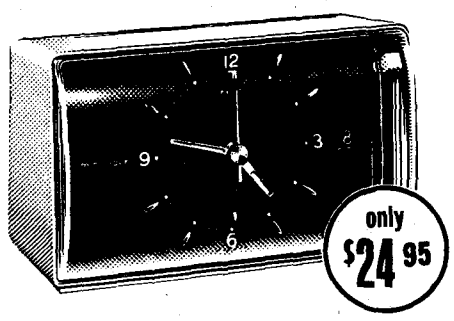

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Eugene Lyons' New Book

A Half Century of Soviet Duplicity

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

On the 50th anniversary of the coup d'etat that brought it to power, the Soviet regime has little enough to celebrate. It will say nothing of its one triumph.

For this is its success in brainwashing so many of its intended victims. That certain non-Communist historians at civilized universities should argue that the United States is responsible for starting the Cold War is to be expected. How else can they achieve the publicity that has come to mean so much to the profession?

But when a leading American newspaper insists that the Kremlin, in the teeth of its refusal to let the United Nations or a revived Geneva Conference try to end the war in Viet Nam, really seeks peace, Moscow has every reason to be proud.

Fortunately for us, the Kremlin's self-painted "image" has been badly damaged in recent years. A number of authorities, some Russian, some foreign—Col. Penkovskiy, Stalin's daughter Svetlana, novelist Valery Tarsis; Evgenia Ginsburg, the martyred Communist; Suzanne Labin, the French writer; and many others—have sharply exposed one or more of the real features behind the Soviet mask.

Yet the fine debunking job is contained in a new book by Eugene Lyons, senior editor of *Reader's Digest*, widely known for his previous revelations of the true Soviet Union.

In this work, aptly entitled *Workers' Paradise Lost* (Funk and Wagnalls, New York) simply demolishes the legends thanks to whose cunning diffusion the Communist regime in Russia has survived half a century.

Here they are:

- "The myth that the Bolsheviks came to power through revolution.
- "The myth that the masses supported the Bolshevik seizure of power.
- "The myth that Soviet communism is 'Marxist' and 'Socialist.'
- "The myth that Soviet Russia has become a classless society.
- "The myth that Russia before the Revolution was an economic desert.
- "The myth that Old Russia was a political, cultural and social wasteland.
- "The myth that the Soviet people love the Communist system.
- "The myth that in World War II the people fought to defend the Communist regime.
- "The myth that the first five-year plan was a triumphant success.
- "The myth that communism is a rational short-cut to modern industrialization.
- "The myth that centralized planning is a magic formula for growth and prosperity.
- "The myth that 'economic reforms' foreshadow a return to the free market.
- "The myth that collectivized farming is the answer for hungry nations.
- "The myth that abundance is provided for the ordinary citizen is pure fiction.
- "The myth that the Soviet Union has become 'liberal' and is evolving toward democracy.
- "The myth that the Soviet Union is anti-imperialist and anti-colonial.
- "The myth that the Soviet Union has been a champion of world peace.
- "The myth that the coexistence slogan means what it says.
- "The myth that Soviet communism has fostered progress in science.
- "The myth that the Soviets have promoted the arts and culture.
- "The myth that communism is a rational model for underdeveloped countries."

Lyons not only states, he demonstrates. Hence his irrefutable conclusion: "Soviet communism is demonstrably the most tragic failure on this scale in all history."

It will be fun watching the punks, pinks, dupes and pacifists squirm.

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Valor of Past Wars Recalled

Why Not Use Gurkhas in Viet Nam?

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

You, climb aboard the train—
We're off to fight the Japs.
If we live, our journey back
Will be along this road.
If we die, no further travel
Than six feet underground.

—Gurkhas maching song, World War II

London, England:—Communist propaganda and pressure in foreign capitals has deprived the Western world of the acknowledged champion of all infantry fighters.

He is the compact, slant-eyed, sturdy Gurkha from the independent, anti-Communist nation of Nepal, a mountain kingdom, in the subcontinent of India.

The Gurkhas for 150 years have made the enemies of England tremble. They broke the Indian Mutiny of the 1850s, they killed Turks in Mesopotamia, they decapitated Germans in the trench warfare of France and Italy with their deadly curved knife, the *kukri*. They have routed pro-Communist insurrectionists in Burma, Borneo, Malaya, Hong Kong and the Congo.

Fearless but friendly, intensely loyal and ferocious in combat, expert in jungle fighting and superb in their objectivity as internal security troops, the Gurkhas are made-to-order for action in Viet Nam. They would make the Viet Cong rue the day they turned Red.

I have interviewed British retired officers who commanded Ghurkas in many parts of the world. Why haven't these superb troops, some still in British service, many more in Indian service and still more eager to be enlisted in their homeland, been brought to Viet Nam? Why hasn't the subject even been raised?

Well, there is a conspiracy of silence about it all. British officers don't want their names used—lest there be repercussions in Whitehall. Controlled newspapers rarely mention any action by the Gurkhas—the reason is that left-wing agitators, especially in Nepal and India, would raise an outcry against their governments. Communist fear of these doughty warriors is at once a compliment to a fighting race and a reproof to the timidity of anti-Communist policy-makers.

The dread in which the enemies of freedom hold these remarkable Asian mountaineers should be the best reason for signing them up to fight. None of the tosh which applies to H-bombing or even to saturation bombing has any pertinence here. The Gurkhas are not dangerous to anybody except the foes in front of them. The folly of allowing world communism to stymie our optimum tactics was never better illustrated.

Were it not for political tremors, the Gurkhas might well be in the Viet Nam war. They would be an inestimable benefit to our side, an expeditor of peace, an infusion of Asian manpower into a conflict which is too much American-fought.

Arguments against the use of mercenaries do not come with grace and conviction. The two countries with the most experience have had to agree with the necessity. The British conquered the Gurkha clans in 1814, but were forced to throw in 50,000 men with superior arms to overcome 15,000 tribesmen. This is often how it goes when West moves East, as we do in Viet Nam.

Out of the British-Gurkha struggle grew an alliance of mutual respect. From that time forward, Gurkha infantrymen and their British officers felt honored by their association. The death of 45,000 Gurkhas in two world wars, ornamented by 12 Victoria Crosses and uncounted other medals for bravery, cemented a brothership which only the valiant can understand.

In their highest need, the British accepted 75,000 of these wonderful Asian professionals. The Indian Republic, although formerly repressed by these same battlers, has not hesitated to hire them for defense, now in the number of about six Gurkha regiments.

Britain and India, owing much in war and peace to America, have this chance to discharge a debt of honor. To be sure, there are diplomatic difficulties. But where there's a will, there's a way.

And if the Gurkhas should professionally turn the tide for Western civilization, as is the issue in Viet Nam, it wouldn't be the first time it ever happened in the right cause.

(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

A New 'International Money' Gimmick

From the Chicago *Tribune*

The monetary magicians of 106 countries have decided to wave the wand and produce a new trick. This would be to manufacture "money"—strictly speaking, a new international reserve asset to supplement dollars and gold—where none exists at the moment.

The decision was made by unanimous agreement at a meeting on September 29 in Rio de Janeiro of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). In the light of this legerdemain, the IMF might appropriately transpose its initials to IFM, standing for "international funny money."

The International Monetary Fund was created in 1944 to make the currencies of member countries readily available for foreign use. This was accomplished by paying a quota of their own currencies into an IMF pool of world currency holdings. When a member nation's balance of payments is in deficit, the member has the privilege of going to the IMF to "draw" foreign currencies to rectify its delinquencies to creditor nations.

Until now there have been two types of drawing rights. One is based on the nation's quota payment in its own currency and the other on its payment in gold (normally, a gold payment of 25 per cent of the quota is required). If the debtor nation draws currencies against its gold, it must repay within five years in currencies satisfactory to the IMF.

There is a further provision for easy credit. When a member has drawn to the full extent of its currency and gold quotas, it may draw additional foreign currencies for a three to five-year period up to the amount of the original 75 per cent contribution it made in its own currency. The IMF then rides herd on it to force it to get its books in order.

To these existing drawing rights there are to be added something called "special drawing rights." They had the enthusiastic support of the "underdeveloped" countries, whose currencies are, by and large, worthless. They also had the wholehearted indorsement of the United States, for reasons that are readily apparent. The plight of this country is well known.

The United States deficit in the balance of payments is chronic. We have not balanced our international payments since 1957. Our gold reserve has fallen from $24 billion to $13 billion, and this is not even sufficient to satisfy the statutory requirement that the stock of paper money in circulation must have a 25 per cent gold covering. Meanwhile, short-term credits in foreign hands amount to $29 billion—all of these representing demands for payment in gold if they should be presented.

The Johnson Administration's fiscal policies, which pile up one inflationary deficit after another, therefore create a monetary problem which can exist only through the sufferance of foreign creditors. The rug could be pulled out from under it at any moment, once confidence is gone (and the Administration year after year does everything in its power to destroy confidence). No wonder it is anxious to go to a system of IOU's, in which foreign claims could be satisfied by book transactions involving the exchange of no real money.

This is the road to perpetual inflationary erosion of the dollar. Even so, the IMF oxygen tank could not be brought into use before 1969, after a complicated ratification process, and the European Common Market countries, with final power of veto, could kick it over at any time. Nevertheless, the Administration is putting its hope in this scheme, and its refusal meanwhile to do anything effective to put its house in order forecasts a further plunge toward thoroughgoing fiat money, the weakest money known to man.

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The Resplendent Debtor

By RAYMOND MOLEY

Militant civil rights leader Julius Hobson of Washington, D.C. is organizing a national campaign to urge the "urban poor" to declare bankruptcy to avoid paying off small businesses which allegedly gouge the poor. Here, Raymond Moley presents some thoughts on the subject of bankruptcy.

In the decade before World War I there was a group of historians who interpreted American political life as a perennial struggle between debtors and creditors. That issue was predominant in the decisive campaigns of 1800, 1828 and 1896. In the first two, frontier farmers, always in debt, successfully revolted.

In 1896 populism captured the Democratic party, but lost to the Republicans. The objective of these debtor revolts was more money—easy money. Through inflation, debtors sought the Promised Land.

But despite those debtors' uprisings, thrift remained a cherished virtue in our society. Mortgages on home or farm or small business were "plasters," to be eased or patiently endured. Those who bought "on tick" at the store were regarded with some suspicion. Always to pay in cash was regarded as an honorific habit suitable for plenty of bragging to children and friends.

But in the past 50 years there has been a revolution in the public image of the debtor. This change is the subject of a most interesting report by the Home Economics Bureau of the Northwestern National Life Insurance Co. Debt, the report says, is now a status symbol. "Like Santa Claus, [it] is a source of good things . . . a skyway to continuous prosperity."

Leading the resplendent march of debtors is good old Uncle Sam. He owes 109 times what he owed in 1917. Following him are the mortgagors, who owe 30 times their debt of 50 years ago. And installment buyers are 50 times more numerous.

Following this triumphant march, enchained by their own thrift, are the creditors: the people who own bonds, government or corporate; mortgagees who have invested in the other fellow's needs; depositors in savings banks. Everyone with a fixed income. Even those who live on Social Security, although they are occasionally relieved by acts of Congress. For inflation in the new era is as inevitable as the cycle of the seasons.

The trend is whipped up now by those erstwhile guardians of "sound" money, the big bankers. They have caught the credit-card infection. A short while ago Chicago banks emitted a veritable downpour of credit cards. Practically none of the recipients had asked for them. Some homeowners found a dozen in their mail, even duplicates from the same bank.

On September 20 one bank, in a full-page ad in the Chicago *Tribune*, touted its cards as "The Nicest Idea Since Money." In New York, David Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan Bank offers a "personal line of credit" so that "now you can write checks for more than you have in your checking account."

In promoting its "Everything Card," the First National City Bank tells you to mail in the coupon headed "I Want Everything" and assures you that "You don't even have to bank with us" to have the goodies.

The young married couple can now start life in a house on which they have made no down payment. They can then equip it with every luxury on what the English call "the never-never." Even their vacations can be paid for in installments. Take next year's trip to Europe now—and pay later.

Bankruptcy used to be a tragic event that afflicted only businesses that "failed." Now business bankruptcies are relatively what they were 50 years ago. But now 11 of 12 petitions for bankruptcy are personal.

Case studies show that half of the employe bankrupts could, if they would, pay their debts in two or three years. Four-fifths of them will be back in financial trouble within three years. But why bother to sweat it out and by work and self-denial pay the debts? The courts are open and the slate can be swept clean. The social stain of bankruptcy no longer exists. It is merely an incident in a "full" life.

I doubt if we shall ever again have a debtor uprising in our political system. If we do it will be overwhelmingly successful. For most Americans are populists now, if they understand a bit of economics. Thrift belongs to that category which John Kenneth Galbraith contemptuously calls "the conventional wisdom." The goal of a future financial security is gone with the wrap-around muffler and the woolen wristlets our grandmothers used to knit.

And big bankers, once the valiant defenders of "sound" money, are creating debtors with all the devices of modern advertising.

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RICKENBACKER by Edward V. Rickenbacker (Prentice-Hall, 458 pages, $7.95)

"The life story, told staccato and forcefully, of one of the great American military heroes and industrial leaders, a man famous also for surviving an impressive number of brushes with death. Eddie Rickenbacker reviews his career from its Horatio Alger-style beginning through his work on early autos, his World War I flying service, his leadership in Eastern Air Lines and the secret missions he undertook for the U.S. government in World War II. High points are the adventure and tenseness of auto racing, World War I combat flights, a very bad air crash in Atlanta, Ga., in 1941, and the famous episode of Rickenbacker's survival on a raft after his plane was forced down over the Pacific in October 1942.

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—From **Publisher's Weekly**

THE KOREAN WAR by Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, (Doubleday, 291 pages, $6.95)

"A very able summary of the course of the Korean War, by the general who took command of the 8th Army in December 1950 and then succeeded Gen. Douglas MacArthur as commander in chief of United Nations forces in April 1951. In an orderly and balanced manner, and a style remarkably lucid and uncluttered with military jargon, Gen. Ridgway reviews tactics and fighting; . . . he tells harrowing stories about escape efforts of troops surrounded by Chinese and about the sufferings of troops in the bitter cold.

"He draws lessons for our time and particularly for Viet Nam in the Korean conflict. Ridgway admires MacArthur's brilliance and carefully explains that MacArthur always opposed the use of U.S. **ground** forces on the Asiatic mainland—he wanted to use sea and air power against the Chinese. However, Ridgway takes great exception to MacArthur's over-optimism. . . ." A highly interesting and important book.—From **Publisher's Weekly**

THE GLORIOUS QUEST by James R. Evans (Hallberg, $4.95, 127 pages)

"A most interesting yardstick for the measurement of political proposals is laid down by James R. Evans, Chicago engineer-businessman and student of government. . . . **The Glorious Quest** consists of reflections on American political science, philosophy, economics, history and theology and tempered by observation of the current scene. . . .

"Evans questions whether the majority can always arrive at the right decision, noting that Christ was crucified by a supposed majority, Socrates was done to death by a majority, and our forefathers would have been hanged by a majority had their effort at independence failed. . . .

"The book concludes with the statement that no historian of the future will ever be able to prove that the ideas of individual liberty practiced in our Republic were a failure, but they may be able to prove that the American people were not worthy of the American way as established by the Founding Fathers."—By Walter Trohan in the Chicago **Tribune**

ASSIGNMENT IN UTOPIA by Eugene Lyons (Twin Circle Publishing Co., 1776 Broadway, New York, N.Y., 259 pages, 95 cents. Order directly from publisher.)

Mr. Lyons is a distinguished senior editor of the **Reader's Digest** who, as a United Press correspondent, spent the years from 1928 through 1934 in Moscow. This book, first published in 1937 and now reissued with a new introduction by William Henry Chamberlin, is his lucid account of those years.

William Allen White, reviewing the original edition, wrote: "Lyons has written a beautiful book. He went to Russia a convinced, enthusiastic Communist. What he saw there filled him with disillusion, but not bitterness. To be able to write clearly, honestly, with tolerant intelligence and yet with a broken heart, as he has written this book, makes it unique in the long line of books that have come out of Soviet Russia. A beautiful, wise, kindly and sadly merciless book it is."

SPACE FRONTIER by Dr. Wernher von Braun (Holt, 210 pages, $4.95).

The latest work by the director of NASA's George C. Marshall Space Flight Center seeks to explain in the popular idiom the many complex and fascinating problems of space flight. Such a work is long overdue in a society that today is well into the space age, and should greatly contribute to a broad understanding of how the exploration of space can contribute to our national enrichment and, very possibly, to our survival.

Protest from Prague

From the Arizona *Republic*

Recently the Sunday *Times* of London published an unprecedented letter—one signed by 329 Czechoslovakian writers, artists and scientists.

The letter, smuggled out of Prague, was addressed to "you leftist Western intellectuals who are still subject to dangerous illusions about democracy and freedom in the Socialist countries, who protest against American massacres in Viet Nam . . . and tend to overlook what happens here where you are pinning your hopes."

The signatories (their names were withheld by the *Times*, which is in itself a reflection on the Czech regime) do not expect liberation in the sense of Western armed intervention to remove the Czech tyranny. And it is a good bet that most of them still swear allegiance to a democratic form of socialism.

But they do want recognition of their condition behind the Iron Curtain. And what they imply is that they would be ever so grateful if Western intellectuals would just once in a while interrupt their protest over suppression of free expression in non-Communist countries long enough to protest conditions in Eastern Europe. It is probably a forlorn hope. But the brave Czech artists have, at the risk of their very lives, gone on record in appealing to the conscience of Western artists.

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Obscenity, Busing Among Them

Supreme Court to Hear Landmark Cases

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

(The following column was written just prior to the court's convening last week.)

Precisely at 10 o'clock Monday morning, the great red curtains will ripple and divide; the packed courtroom will rise; and quite suddenly, in a rustling of black robes, the nine men who are collectively the most powerful nine men in this Republic will take their places at the bench.

Opening day of the court! And no matter how often one has witnessed the ceremony—no matter how severely one castigates the Supreme Court during its session—it remains an emotional experience. "Oyez, oyez!" cries the clerk. He is speaking Anglo-French, centuries old. "God save this honorable Court!" He is praying in this courtroom before men who banished prayer in schoolrooms.

There will be some changes Monday. Tom Clark has departed, and six members of the court will shift their seats. Warren will remain in the center, of course, immobile, as if he were sitting for his portrait; Black on his right, at 79 the dean of the court; Douglas on his left, his seamed, sardonic face now turning a little florid.

The others will move. Harlan will be on Black's right—literally and figuratively, one reflects. Brennan, graying but dapper, will be to the left of Douglas. Stewart, looking younger than a man of 52 has any right to look, will be next to Harlan. White, who still moves his bulky frame with an athlete's grace, will sit by Brennan. Fortas will move his chair from far left to far right; and in the place he leaves vacant: Thurgood Marshall, grandson of a slave, a judicial activist whose vote will make the liberal bloc secure.

These are the nine men. When they settle down to work a week hence, they will turn their hands and minds anew to the recurring themes of American constitutional law. By every indication, this term promises to be a year of milestone cases.

One of the first cases set for argument will bring the court squarely to a great conflict of our times—the conflict in law enforcement between the rights of society and the rights of the individual citizen.

The case is *Stephen R. Wainwright vs. the City of New Orleans.* It arose about midnight on the night of Oct. 12, 1964, when Wainwright, a law student at Tulane, decided to go out for something to eat. He slipped a zippered jacket over his T-shirt, left his French Quarter apartment, and started toward a diner a few blocks away.

Two officers in a patrol car observed him. In height, build, coloring, he appeared to match the description of one Johnnie McTaylor, wanted for questioning in a murder case. The police knew this much of McTaylor: He had a tattoo on his left forearm, "Born to raise Hell." They stopped Wainwright and asked for identification; he had left his billfold at home. They asked him to take off his jacket. Wainwright refused. Tempers heated up. A struggle followed at the stationhouse. In the end, Wainwright was convicted of assaulting the police.

A petty case? Yes. But it presents, however ludicrously, a towering issue of constitutional law. Surely, in a free society, a man has every right to walk peacefully to a diner at midnight without being harassed by the cops. No citizen ought to be subjected to the "stop-and-frisk" without clear probable cause. Yet one sympathizes with the outraged and angry brief filed by the city of New Orleans: "All this litigation, which has attained ridiculous proportions, could have been avoided by the simple expedient of Wainwright merely baring his left forearm." Is this too much to ask of a citizen?

Two other cases, one from Ohio, one from New York, will present similar questions under the stop-and-frisk procedure. Two appeals will raise a new challenge to the admissibility of evidence obtained by electronic eavesdropping devices.

Half a dozen cases involve the vexatious issue of "obscenity"; two of them, from Dallas and Mt. Vernon, N.Y., go to society's right, if any, to deny certain movies and magazines to minors. The question of "one man, one vote" will recur in a Texas case.

Twelve appeals challenge the federal wagering tax law. Other cases test state laws: Can Maryland demand a loyalty oath of public employes? Can New York forbid the distribution of anonymous circulars in a political campaign? Can New Jersey rely upon a point system to penalize drivers? Does the Cincinnati school board have an affirmative constitutional duty to bus Negro children in order to correct racial imbalance in the schools?

These are the landmark cases of this term; the course of this Republic, for good or ill, will be determined by them. When the curtains swing apart on Monday, the time of decision will start to run.

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Favoritism in Defense Contracts?

Capitol Hill begins to stir at revelations of Sec. McNamara's procurement practices and wonders if someone is getting rich.

By WILLARD EDWARDS

The panic button was pressed in the Pentagon last week when Sen. Peter H. Dominick (R.-Colo.) arose on the Senate floor and asked a quiet question. Forces were thereby initiated that could mushroom into a scandal of government-shaking proportions.

Was it not time, Dominick inquired, to determine whether outright dishonesty, and not just bureaucratic fumbling and inefficiency, was responsible for the accumulating evidence of monumental waste in military procurement practices?

Specifically, was someone in the Defense Department getting rich through the allotment of huge contracts to large corporations despite lower bids by competitors? With more than $18 billion allotted this year for military purchases, the temptation was great.

It was a question that has been begging for utterance in recent months. Dominick, a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, backed it up by citing two recent cases he had uncovered which suggested corruption instead of the inefficiency often accepted as normal to wartime spending. He asked the Government Operations Committee to determine whether the facts warranted a full-scale investigation and public hearings.

Scores of members have received complaints of cases similarly indicating fraud. Small business firms throughout the nation have reported numerous instances in which they were frozen out of defense contracts by bigger corporations with influential contacts in Washington. In all these cases, the Defense Department paid more for supplies than was necessary.

Dominick brought into the open a situation which many had been loath to discuss and they secretly applauded his candor. Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara was alerted to the danger. President Johnson was advised that a political volcano was rumbling and might erupt in an election year. An emergency meeting of Defense Department officials was called to debate the threat.

McNamara has weathered many storms by putting up a barrage of angry denials and counter-charges. But he will proceed cautiously in this crisis, having been burned badly in his first encounter with congressional criticism of military procurement. He was forced to beat a quick retreat after his first savage and sarcastic reaction to revelations by Rep. Otis G. Pike (D.-N.Y.) of inexcusable defense buying.

Sen. Peter Dominick (R.-Colo.) has raised disturbing questions about the awarding of military contracts.

Pike made public a series of military purchases which defied reasonable explanation. He told of small items of hardware, such as washers and nuts and bolts, for which the military paid $1.55 each when they were available in any hardware store for six cents apiece.

The amounts were small but, as Pike remarked, the principle was not. McNamara, accustomed to dealing in billions of dollars, ridiculed Pike as a nitpicker. The New York congressman struck back by displaying a generator knob, available to any citizen for $1.62, for which the Army had paid $312.50. Next day, a red-faced military canceled the contract.

Pike referred to the purchases as "stupid" and "wasteful," not ascribing more sinister motives. The cases revealed by Dominick, however, not only dealt in big amounts but could not be excused as due to ignorance or inefficiency.

A small firm in Aurora, Colo., Dominick said, developed a lightweight flame thrower, submitted the low bid on it, and then found itself losing the contract to a bigger company which had bid more than double the amount. In the second case, a small business concern in Philadelphia lost out on a $10-million contract for a portable radio although its bid was $884,856 lower than the successful bidder, the giant Radio Corporation of America.

Both cases were marked by such glaring inequities, Dominick said, that he felt impelled to ask "whether any specific benefits have been derived by anyone in the Army or elsewhere as a consequence of this peculiar procedure."

In other words, did someone get a rake-off? There are more than 100 similar cases of exorbitant costs and indefensible buying methods awaiting the congressional probe. On Capitol Hill, the odds are considered more than even that the investigation could develop into an expose of deals dwarfing the "5 per cent" operations of influence peddlers in the Truman era.

(©1967, Chicago *Tribune*—N.Y. *News* Syndicate)

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MAYBE A TREND?—"Communist Cuba's delegates to the United Nations are angry at the United States Customs Department which they claim treated them with disrespect when they entered the country for the new sessions of the international organization. If the Cuban Reds, who are attempting to stir up revolutions through the hemisphere, were actually given a hard time, it's the first time in a long while that any U.S. agency has done so."—From the Indianapolis *Star*

□ □ □

REP. GENE SNYDER (R.-Ky.) reports that as "poverty has become a big and thriving business, more, not fewer, want to claim this status classification." Reason: The Department of Health, Education and Welfare is now offering $50-a-month stipends to poor youngsters to cover their dates, movies, laundry, haircuts and other incidentals. "In return for this $50 a month," Snyder says, "the only thing these youths have to do is be poor."

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

'Mao of the Americas'

By REP. JOHN BUCHANAN (R.-Ala.)

While the United States has reason to be disappointed that the Organization of American States did not take stronger united action against Castro, we ourselves may be part of the reason. This Lilliputian tyrant seems an invincible giant to too many Latin Americans precisely because of the Bay of Pigs fiasco, plus our apparent inability since to effectively oppose him. As a matter of fact, our CIA regularly harasses and frustrates the efforts of those free Cubans who do oppose him. We regularly spy upon leaders, confiscate vessels, upset anti-Castro plots and generally work to make sure that none of the Cuban exiles here do anything against the Castro regime. We are his chief protector in this hemisphere.

Should we try instead the pathway of commitment and courage, should we support those Cuban exiles who dream of the ultimate overthrow of this brutal police-state by the Cuban people, it might well be the case that the bankrupt government of that troubled land could yet be overthrown and without the military participation of a single United States soldier.

One thing is certain. In the vastness of his ego and the sickness of his mind, Fidel Castro sees himself as the Mao or the Lenin of the Americas. If he has his way, there will be no peace in this hemisphere, or any freedom. He is committed to the subversion, overthrow, and control of every government in the Americas, including our own. Firm, concerted and decisive action sooner or later must be taken to make sure that this remains the insane, impossible dream of a Cuban madman.

Discipline Needed

By REP. GOERGE BUSH (R.-Tex.)

A tax increase without a detailed government spending cut would be kind of like planting wheat during the recent hurricane Beulah. What we need is some discipline and some leadership and if there's going to be any tax increase the Administration has got to outline detailed, specific cuts in spending. They must tell the people that their government will set these priorities and then that the government is going to sacrifice and until this is done there should be no tax bill.

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WHO SAID THAT? "America's foreign aid program is antiquated . . . nothing more than the Marshall Plan warmed over, souped up, added to, cut back, started and stopped, without knowing who is running it or where it is going, where it has been or even what happened in a good many places of the world last year."—Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson (D.-Tex.) Feb. 7, 1960.

House Turns Back Spending Cut Bid

Following is the 213-to-205 rollcall vote by which the House of Representatives on October 3 voted to block a GOP-sponsored measure to cut federal spending by at least $5 billion. The House voted against a special rule allowing consideration of the spending limit; a "nay" vote is a vote for economy in government.

DEMOCRATS FOR: 213

Adams, Addabbo, Albert, Anderson (Tenn.), Andrews (Ala.), Annunzio, Ashley, Bennett, Bingham, Blanton, Blatnik, Boggs, Boland, Bolling, Brademas, Brasco, Brinkley, Brooks, Brown (Calif.), Burke (Mass.), Burleson, Burton (Calif.), Byrne (Pa.), Cabell, Carey, Casey, Celler, Clark, Cohelan, Colmer, Conyers, Corman, Culver, Daddario, Daniels, Davis (Ga.), Dawson, de la Garza, Delaney, Dent, Dingell, Donohue, Dorn, Dow, Downing, Dulski, Eckhardt, Edmondson, Edwards (Calif.), Eilberg, Evans (Colo.), Everett, Evins (Tenn.), Fallon, Farbstein, Fascell, Feighan, Fisher, Flood, Flynt, Foley, Ford, Wm. Fraser, Friedel, Fulton (Tenn.), Fuqua, Gallagher, Garmatz, Gettys, Giaimo, Gibbons, Gilbert, Gonzalez, Green (Ore.), Green (Pa.), Griffiths, Hagan, Hamilton, Hanley, Hansen (Wash.), Hardy, Hathaway, Hawkins, Hays, Hebert, Hechler (W. Va.), Helstoski, Herlong, Hicks, Holifield, Holland, Howard, Hull, Hungate, Ichord, Irwin, Jacobs, Jarman, Joelson, Johnson (Calif.), Jones (Ala.), Jones (Mo.), Karsten, Karth, Kastenmeier, Kazen, Kee, Kelly, King (Calif.), Kirwan, Kluczynski, Kyros, Landrum, Leggett, Long (Md.), McCarthy, McFall, McMillan, Macdonald (Mass.), Machen, Madden, Mahon, Matsunaga, Meeds, Miller (Calif.), Mills, Minish, Mink, Monagan, Moorhead, Morgan, Morris (N.M.), Moss, Multer, Murphy (Ill.), Murphy (N.Y.), Natcher, Nedzi, Nix, O'Hara (Ill.), O'Hara (Mich.), Olsen, O'Neal (Ga.), O'Neill (Mass.), Ottinger, Passman, Patman, Patten, Pepper, Perkins, Philbin, Pickle, Pike, Poage, Price (Ill.), Pryor, Pucinski, Purcell, Randall, Rees, Resnick, Reuss, Rhodes (Pa.), Rivers, Roberts, Rodino, Rogers (Colo.), Ronan, Rooney (N.Y.), Rooney (Pa.), Rosenthal, Rostenkowski, Roush, Roybal, Ryan, St Germain, St. Onge, Scheuer, Shipley, Sikes, Sisk, Slack, Smith (Iowa), Staggers, Steed, Stephens, Stratton, Stubblefield, Stuckey, Sullivan, Teague (Tex.), Tenzer, Thompson (N.J.), Tiernan, Tunney, Udall, Ullman, Van Deerlin, Vanik, Vigorito, Waggonner, Waldie, Walker, Watts, White, Whitten, Willis, Wilson, Charles, Wolff, Wright, Yates, Young, Zablocki

REPUBLICANS FOR 0

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: 25

Abbitt, Abernethy, Ashmore, Baring, Bevill, Dowdy, Galifianakis, Gathings, Haley, Henderson, Jones (N.C.), Kornegay, Lennon, Long (La.), Marsh, Montgomery, Nichols, Pool, Rogers (Fla.), Satterfield, Selden, Taylor, Tuck, Whitener, Williams (Miss.)

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: 180

Adair, Anderson (Ill.), Andrews (N.D.), Arends, Ashbrook, Ayres, Bates, Battin, Belcher, Bell, Berry, Betts, Biester, Blackburn, Bolton, Bow, Bray, Brock, Brotzman, Brown (Mich.), Brown (Ohio), Broyhill (N.C.), Broyhill (Va.), Buchanan, Burke (Fla.), Burton (Utah), Bush, Byrnes (Wis.), Cahill, Carter, Cederberg, Chamberlain, Clancy, Clausen, Don, Clawson, Del, Cleveland, Collier, Conable, Conte, Corbett, Cowger, Cramer, Cunningham, Curtis, Davis (Wis.), Dellenback, Denney, Derwinski, Devine, Dickinson, Dole, Duncan, Dwyer, Edwards (Ala.), Erlenborn, Esch, Eshleman, Findley, Fino, Ford, Gerald, Frelinghuysen, Fulton (Pa.), Gardner, Goodell, Goodling, Gross, Grover, Gubser, Gude, Gurney, Hall, Halleck, Halpern, Hammerschmidt, Hansen (Idaho), Harrison, Harsha, Harvey, Heckler (Mass.), Horton, Hosmer, Hunt, Hutchinson, Johnson (Pa.), Jonas, Keith, King (N.Y.), Kleppe, Kupferman, Kuykendall, Kyl, Laird, Langen, Latta, Lipscomb, Lloyd, Lukens, McClory, McClure, McCulloch, McDade, McDonald (Mich.), McEwen, MacGregor, Mailliard, Mathias (Calif.), Mathias (Md.), May, Mayne, Meskill, Michel, Miller (Ohio), Minshall, Mize, Moore, Morse (Mass.), Morton, Mosher, Myers, Nelsen, Pelly, Pettis, Pirnie, Poff, Pollock, Price (Tex.), Quie, Quillen, Railsback, Reid (Ill.), Reid (N.Y.), Reifel, Reinecke, Rhodes (Ariz.), Riegle, Robison, Roth, Roudebush, Rumsfeld, Ruppe, Sandman, Saylor, Schadeberg, Scherle, Schneebeli, Schweiker, Schwengel, Scott, Shriver, Skubitz, Smith (Calif.), Smith (N.Y.), Smith (Okla.), Snyder, Springer, Stafford, Stanton, Steiger (Ariz.), Steiger (Wis.), Taft, Talcott, Teague (Calif.), Thompson (Ga.), Thomson (Wis.), Vander Jagt, Wampler, Watson, Whalen, Whalley, Widnall, Wiggins, Williams (Pa.), Wilson, Bob, Winn, Wyatt, Wydler, Wylie, Wyman, Zion, Zwach

NOT VOTING: 14

Legislative Boxscore

The following is a round-up of items of particular interest to Human Events readers:

• President Johnson's request for a **10 per cent surcharge** on individual and corporate tax payments may have suffered a mortal blow in the House. Over frantic dissent by the Administration, the tax-writing House Ways and Means Committee tabled the tax proposal until LBJ agrees to substantially slash government spending; following the lead of economy-minded Chairman Rep. Wilbur Mills (D.-Ark.) and an anti-tax voting public, members of the committee voted 20 to 5 to set the measure aside. Capitol Hill observers conceded LBJ might be hard put to accomplish a slash large enough to suit Congress and may have to bid his surcharge tax a fond farwell for this session.

• As predicted in recent Legislative Boxscores, liberal "bridge-builders" on the House-Senate Conference considering the **Foreign Aid Bill** (S 1872) have snipped out an anti-Red trade amendment added in the House by Rep. Paul Findley (R.-Ill.); the legislator's proviso would have suspended any tariff concessions to Communist Poland, under the "most-favored-nation" clause, as long as it continues to provide arms to Ho Chi Minh. Findley has pledged to lead a fight to re-introduce his amendment when the foreign aid measure comes out of conference; meanwhile, the conferees are expected to approve aid appropriations in the neighborhood of $2.7 billion (down from the $3.4 billion requested by the Administration).

• The Senate Finance Committee has completed hearings on the **Social Security Amendments** (HR 12080) and is now working on its report to the chamber. The committee's liberal majority is expected to recommend dropping such House-passed restrictions on welfare recipients as excluding from the relief rolls adults and youths refusing to work "without good cause." If the Senate follows this advice and the bill goes to conference, House conservatives have vowed to fight tooth and nail to retain the restrictions on what they believe to be a runaway welfare program.

• The House has passed the **Public Broadcasting Act** (HR 6736) and the measure now goes to conference for working out financial differences with the Senate's version. As passed by the House, the bill authorizes $9 million in 1968 for funding a Corporation for Public Broadcasting and allows the federal government to pay up to 75 per cent of the costs (the Senate had allowed for only 50 per cent) in constructing new TV facilities. Conservatives in both chambers are expected to continue their fight to either scuttle or restrict the corporation provision which would control the content of educational television programs.

• The Senate has passed the Administration's **rent supplement and model cities programs** and the appropriations bills now go to conference. The Senate approved $537 million for model cities and $40 million for rent supplements, whereas the more frugal House had greatly reduced the cities provision and refused to fund the rent program altogether.

'We're overloaded—you'll have to be sacrificed'

Courtesy St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

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My early schooling didn't fit me for this brave, new topsy-turvy world and I may have to study up on Newspeak in order to communicate. For these days you either communicate or suffer excommunication.

We small fry liked Longfellow's *Hiawatha,* but not his poem about the fellow who walked through snow and ice with the strange device, "Excelsior!" That meant "higher," we were told—which jibed with his direction—but we still couldn't figure what he was up to. Now, of course, I realize he was pulling a one-man demonstration for some cause.

But in this social revolution you can't go by Longfellow. Nowadays it is not unusual to see a toboggan, heading for the bottom but flying a pennant also marked "Excelsior." That's Newspeak for you.

Sen. Norris Cotton (R.-N.H.) tells of a committee meeting at which Administration spokesmen pleaded for economy. But the meeting adjourned hastily so the senators could vote on an Administration measure to provide $2 million more for Appalachia. The going

Democrats talked about a missile gap during the 1960 elections, but under Defense Secretary McNamara that gap has become a reality.

looked rough, so Mississippi and parts of New York were hastily added to Appalachia—and the bill then passed. What's geography among friends? After all, in Newspeak Bobby Kennedy became an instantaneous New Yorker.

Now I am all for Sen. George Murphy's notion that Uncle Sam is best represented by neither a dove nor a hawk, but by the American eagle, since he will neither bully nor be bullied. But you keep on turning the other cheek, and the enemy must regard you as neither dove, nor hawk, nor eagle—but chicken.

There was spurious hustings talk about our missile gap in the campaign of 1960. But, seven years later, there is a real gap, brought about by Secretary McNamara's refusal to heed the advice of the Pentagon and the urgings of Congress.

And now that the reluctant secretary finally decides it is time to do something—still a few years away—he announces it with what amounts to an apology to the Soviets, explaining we are acting only to protect ourselves against Mao.

Mao is now the chief villain, though it was Russia which backed Egypt in the hope of controlling the Suez Canal, as it is Russia which arms Hanoi with an eye to the Asian straits.

I don't see much difference in the two villains, but let's say Mao is currently the more dangerous. Ah, so? As Charlie Chan would phrase it for the movies, "Must then clip wings of Number One enemy."

Well, some of our Bigbrains have been concentrating on how to do just that, and here's the announcement in my paper. A panel of 26 "businessmen and scholars" urge us to cease our opposition to admitting Red China to the U.N.; and that, though Taiwan should be allowed to remain in the General Assembly, her place on the Security Council should be taken over by Red China.

I must say it threw me but, since businessmen are thought to be practical and scholars wise, I looked to see who they were.

The group, it turns out, is sponsored by the United Nations Association of the U.S.A. and is headed by Robert Roosa, formerly under secretary of the Treasury, and Frederick S. Beebe, chairman of Newspeak—oops! I mean *Newsweek*—and the Washington *Post*. The story doesn't say which is the scholar and which the businessman, but your guess is as good as mine.

I knew Chiang would have to pay for not taking U.S. funds any more. There's nothing like rewarding your enemies, and one more gangster can't hurt an already morally bankrupt U.N. So get another chair ready for Glassboro, boys. I feel another summit coming on—a long, hot summit.

Whatever became of "Millions for defense, but not one damned penny for tribute"—which, incidentally, is the unbowdlerized version of what Charles Pinckney actually said. No chicken, he.

(Copyright 1967, Washington *Star* Syndicate)

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PHS GRANT TO ENGLAND — The Public Health Service last month shelled out $31,320 to Robert F. Logan of Manchester, England. Logan will conduct a study of "medical care utilization in Manchester." Researchers in 10 other nations, including Yugoslavia, Peru and Brazil, also received Public Health Service grants.

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J. GEORGE STEWART, Capitol "architect," is putting the finishing touches on a $13-million underground garage for members of Congress and their employes. The project brings to 5,929 the number of parking spaces earmarked for lawmakers and their staffs. This is more than 10 spaces for every senator and representative.

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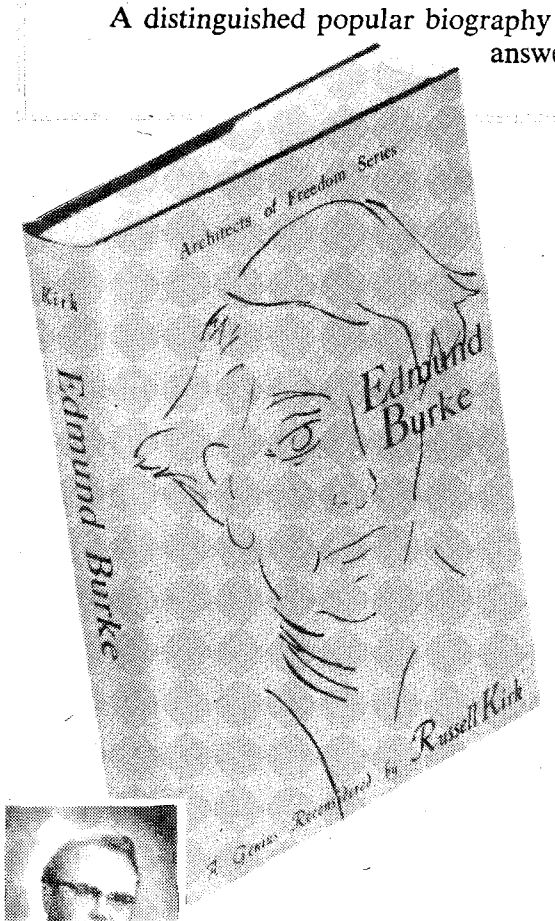

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Russell Kirk, noted conservative columnist, lecturer, editor of **The University Bookman,** contributor to **National Review,** is perhaps the foremost living authority on Edmund Burke.

of times, it was the worst of times, when the French Revolutionists stormed the Bastille on July 14, 1789. Their "treason most foul" touched off the Reign of Terror and the first modern totalitarian state. And they left the world a legacy of levelling ideas that have warred on excellence and privacy and civilization for nearly two hundred years.

The votaries of Revolution — Mirabeau and Tom Paine and even Charles Fox — went to Burke, now in the twilight of his great career. Surely he would bless their cause. His enlightened sentiments were well known.

But they did not understand their Burke. He had never been a revolutionist. He saw the canyon that divides revolution and reform. He saw the wreckers for what they were, and he resolved to give his last years to unmasking the Enlightened who cultivated Progress with the guillotine, who chose as their Goddess of Reason a whore — and crowned her in the Cathedral of Notre Dame.

Today we must endure the sound of national leaders likening the American Revolution to the Russian, or to the obscenities in Africa. *Burke heard the same cant comparing the French and American Revolutions, and he withered it with an eloquence that will make your heart sing out.*

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Burke never shrank from an unpopular cause. He pleaded for generous treatment of Canada and Ireland. He spoke out against the British East India Company, almost singlehanded brought off the historic impeachment of Hastings — knowing well that he was taking on the Crown of England.

The French Revolution was the moment of truth. Here Burke — advocate of peace in America, Ireland, India, Canada — called for war: not simply in defense of his country, but for the survival of Western civilization.

Friend of America

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